

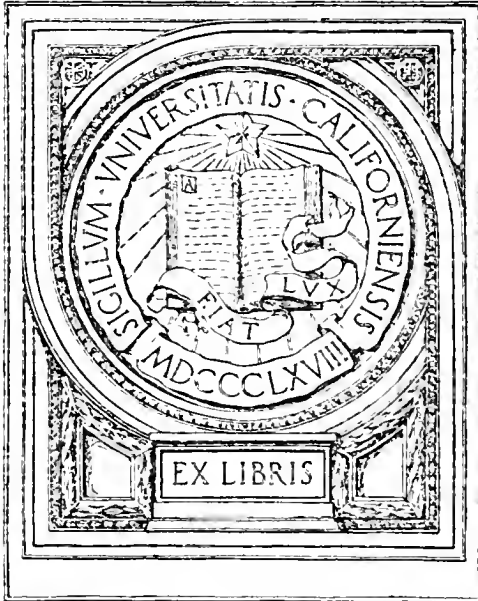
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FREDERICK I.," "HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES,"  
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**VOLUME IX**  
OF  
**A HISTORY OF ALL NATIONS**



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BOOK I.

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THE AGE OF THE CONFLICT OF  
THE INVESTITURE.

(A.D. 1056-1152.)



# THE AGE OF THE CONFLICT OF THE INVESTITURE.

(A.D. 1056-1152.)

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE HISTORICAL SOURCES.

**T**IMES of embittered party-strife are never propitious for the writing of history. If, occasionally, they tend to an improvement in form and style, this is largely due to a desire to produce a wider effect in favor of a particular cause, and to gain adherents to it, by presenting it in a telling form. But historical truth is always compromised thereby, even when there is no deliberate purpose of falsification. The greater the matters in controversy, and the more they trench on the domains of politics, the church, or social life, so much the more difficult is it for even a writer striving after impartiality to keep his mind free from biasing influences, and to raise himself above the point of view of party.

There was scarcely an age when these vitiating agencies worked so powerfully as in that of the mighty struggle between imperialism and the papacy initiated by the investiture conflict; that is, in that epoch in which the Emperor Henry IV. and Pope Gregory VII. are the chief actors. The victory of the hierarchical papacy, which through the aid of an army of churchmen acting as one man under a single will, and through its spiritual agencies operating in all the strata of society, all but suppressed adverse literature, almost made it appear as if Henry IV. had no literary champion, or any self-sacrificing adherent, but that he was as much condemned by all his contemporaries as by the zealots of the church. Of the decided partisans of the emperor — of whom he had many among the German clergy — there have reached us, in consequence, the testimony of two only, possibly only of one. One of these is the

nameless author of "The Life of Henry IV.," who soon after Henry's death compiled, in pure and elegant language, a record of his deeds, — brief, indeed, and cursory, but with affectionate and intelligent appreciation of his character, and with clear insight into the bearing of the events in which he took part on the development of the age. The other, also anonymous, is the author of a metrical chronicle, *Gesta Henrici IV.*, which depicts the king's struggle with the Saxons down to the victory of Hohenburg, June 9, 1075, naturally in a tone the reverse of favorable to the insurgents. Concerning the authorship of the poetical chronicle, there has been no little controversy. In recent times it has come to be ascribed to Lambert of Hersfeld, who, in virtue of another great work, takes a foremost, though not unchallenged place among the historians of his time. This noteworthy man belonged, after 1058, to the monastery of Hersfeld, which he left only once for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. As a continuator of older annals having their origin in Hersfeld, he wrote the history of his time — from 1040 to 1077 — with yearly growing fulness of detail. This great minuteness, particularly in regard to matters touched on by no one else, led to his being long regarded as especially well informed and caused the greatest confidence to be reposed in him. But later investigations have led to the conclusion that his authority has been immensely overrated and that he is to be used with great caution. For he is a decided enemy of Henry, and all the more dangerous a one in that he calls forth confidence by a show of strictest neutrality and impartiality. He often poses, too, as deeply initiated into state secrets, of which he could have had no knowledge either personal or derived, as, for example, of conversations between personages of the highest station, which, even according to his own showing, took place without witness. This and other peculiarities lead us to infer that he depended for much of his so-called special information on the prevalent gossip of the monasteries, which was conveyed to them by vagrant monks. But all this does not prevent much of his record from being valuable. With all his ultramontaniam it must be acknowledged that he is not blind to the faults of his party, and does not withhold his censure from its heads. On the whole, however, the unfavorable impression of Henry IV. conveyed by Lambert has been much modified in his favor by time and later research.

That Lambert's work so long enjoyed confidence, is explained by the fact that it bears the impress of trustworthiness, as compared with

that of the papal annalists, distorted by passion and malignity when treating of Henry. This tendency is represented, first of all, by Bernold, a monk of Reichenau, who, in continuation of Hermann of Reichenau, registered all he judged worthy of notice from 1074 onwards, just in the order in which events came to his knowledge, without troubling himself to arrange them into any chronological order. This is why it has been found impossible accurately to distinguish between his work and that of Berthold, another monk of Reichenau, reaching back as far as Arminius, which Bernold made use of and continued. Much worse still in this respect is the work of the Saxon cleric, Bruno (first of the church of Magdeburg, then of that of Merseburg), in his history of the Saxon war, which, disfigured by blind Saxon passion, and without the slightest sense for historical truth, depicts Henry as the very basest of mankind, assuming as beyond question all that was ever said against him, and adding thereto pure fictions fabricated by party malice.

Naturally the imperial side was not entirely free from such excrescences, as is clear from the "Seven Books to Henry IV.," compiled by Bishop Benzo of Alba. This work, an artistically constructed medley of rhyme and rhythmical prose, revels in the most malignant abuse of the Gregorians, and the most servile flatteries towards Henry, and, in the domain of controversy, has recourse to the most palpable lies and the most daring fables, just as Bruno held such peccadillos excusable in a defender of Saxon liberty.

A serious detriment for historical accuracy is the fact, that, in accord with the varying phases of the great struggle, the judgment of the same writer on men and things often assumes various, and scarcely reconcilable, aspects within the same book. An instructive example of this is offered by the highly meritorious "World-Chronicle" of Abbot Ekkehard of Aura. Immediately after the first Crusade he made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visiting Rome on his way home. In 1106 he attended the Council of Guastalla, and in 1108 was appointed abbot of his newly founded monastery. In the following years he compiled his great "World-Chronicle," in which he endeavored to incorporate all the labors of the older workers of the same kind, as Jerome, Bede, Orosius, etc., as well as those of the chroniclers of special periods and peoples, as Paulus Diaconus, Einhard, Widukind, Liutprand, etc., supplementing the whole by the history of his own times, essentially based on oral information. Ekkehard's work, the first serious production of this sort in

the Middle Ages, surpasses, as well by its comprehensiveness as by the clearness and purity of its style and the excellence of its arrangement, those of all the later workers in the same field, which are, indeed, mainly built upon him unaltered as a foundation. Of his great work we have five different drafts, varying in accordance with the author's changes in opinion and the circumstances under which they were separately produced. At first he took an imperial standpoint, then a papal one, but only to return to the first in a later draft. But finally he condemns Henry IV., whom he had previously covered with praise.

A contemporaneous and independent work is that of Sigebert, a monk of the Belgian abbey of Gembloux, a man of real learning and many-sided culture, who, without letting the mild equanimity of his spirit be disturbed by the ecclesiastical passions of the time, yet recognized the illegality and dangerous nature of the Gregorian hierarchy, and combated it frankly. He is, therefore, when treating contemporaneous history in the last part of his "*World-Chronicle*," a witness of unimpeachable veracity. His original work, ending with the year 1106, was made use of by Ekkehard for the third draft of his own chronicle: and Sigebert afterward supplemented it by an account of the five years from 1106 to 1111, in which he introduced many interesting documents. His work laid the foundation for many others of a similar character, so that by the end of the twelfth century there were to be found in the Belgian monasteries many continuations of it, some of them of high value.

Of more limited, and merely local, import are certain other sources whose authors, comparatively remote from the great politico-ecclesiastical struggle, were less affected by the passions unchained by it. To this class belongs Adam of Bremen's "*History of the Hamburg Church*," and the "*History of the Bohemians*" by the Prague cleric, Cosmas (died 1125).

To these sources we must add numerous church annals, which are of varying value for certain periods and districts, according to the manner and time of their origin. Of the histories of cities, which became so profuse at a later period, a beginning had scarce yet been made.

Biography, in the period down to the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century, continued as a favorite form of historical writing, but suffered from the blemish which affects all mediæval biographies, namely, the ignoring of the secular point of view in favor of the spiritual or clerical.

Especially rich is the material offered us by the letters and other documents relating to the period of the investiture conflict. To the laws and edicts of the emperors, the decrees of councils and synods, and the mass of papal instruments of all kinds, are to be added a treasure of letters, as well as certain miscellaneous writings. To this class belong the letters of Peter Damianus (died 1073), the literary champion of Gregory VII. Of even higher value for us is the so-called "*Register of Gregory VII.*," which in seven books, arranged in accordance with the years of his pontificate, comprises 300 of his briefs as pope, while an unfinished eighth book contains 60 more. From certain conditions connected with the sequence of the briefs it has been inferred that the collection had already been spread abroad, although it had not been published, before his death in 1085. That we have here the genuine *Register of Gregory VII.*, — that is, a book containing abridged copies of the briefs and bulls prepared in the papal chancery, according to the wont of that office, — no one now doubts. In any case, this is only a selection from the documents of Gregory, made to enable the pope's champions and adherents to base their cause on authentic documents and arguments supplied by himself. Side by side with this collection stands another, compiled about 1125 by a Bamberg priest, — Udalrich by name, — with the view of furnishing the younger officials of the chancery with models for certain important instruments of rare occurrence. In this mixed medley of briefs, charters, manifestoes, controversial writings, etc., are to be found a number of the most important documents associated with the investiture conflict. To it, therefore, we are indebted for many pieces of high historic value.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the period, the controversial writers played a great rôle. Those that have survived are mostly Gregorians, as the works of their adversaries were, wherever possible, destroyed. Here we may name Bishop Bonizo of Sutri's "*Book to a Friend*"; Bishop Walram of Naumburg's "*Maintenance of the Unity of the Church*"; and Bishop Guido of Ferrara's "*The Schism of Hildebrand*," — of which the two last named are anti-Gregorian.

For the three decades, from the Concordat of Worms down to the beginning of the revival under Frederick I. of Hohenstaufen, Saxon sources, — especially for the reign of Lothair, under whom the Saxons again took a leading position, — claim particular notice. These annals had their origin in the monastery of St. Peter at Er-

furt, were transplanted thence to other religious houses, and were there continued each in its own appropriate way. Equally valuable for the time of Lothair and Conrad III., and especially illustrative of the ecclesiastical trend of the period, is the "Chronicle" of the Bishop Otto of Freising. A grandson of Henry IV., son of Henry's daughter Agnes by her marriage to the Margrave Leopold of Austria, Otto studied in Paris, became monk, and, later, head in the abbey of Morimund, and ultimately bishop of Freising. In this chronicle, compiled between 1143 and 1146, at the period of the state's greatest weakness and of the predominance of the church (even already, however, beginning to decline), he fol-



FIG. 1. King in royal robes. Twelfth century. From a miniature in a manuscript of the twelfth century at Brussels. (From Laeroix.)

lowed the lines of Augustine and Orosius (Fig. 1), and contrasted the dawning kingdom of God with that of this world doomed to destruction. Thus his work originally bore the appropriate title of "Of the Two States" (*De Duabus Civitatibus*). Our knowledge of Lothair is indebted for many details to the "Chronicle of the Emperors," written in metre, the first properly historical work in the German tongue. It was composed, probably in Ratisbon, about 1150, by a man who especially favors Lothair and the Guelf party. Finally, to this category belongs the "Slavonic Chronicle" of Helmold, a disciple and assistant of Bishop Vicelin of Oldenburg, who, as priest of Bosau, on the lake of Plön, in Holstein, and familiar with both the country and people, narrates in an attractive and appropriate manner,

and from his own observation, the spread of German supremacy among the Wends. His chronicle comes down to 1170.

Among the letters of this period still extant, those of Bernard of Clairvaux and Wibald, abbot of Stablo and Corvey, take a foremost place for the history of Lothair, and especially of Conrad III.



## CHAPTER II.

### THE REFORM OF THE HIERARCHY OF THE MEDIAEVAL CHURCH, THROUGH GREGORY VII., AND THE REVOLUTION OF THE PRINCES IN GERMANY.

(A.D. 1056-1077.)

**T**WICE — under Otto the Great, and again under Henry III. — was the Roman church raised from the deepest debasement by a German king. In the reformation of Otto the political motive and spirit ruled: in that of Henry, the spiritual and ideal element predominated. Therefore the former movement had no inherent durability, and soon collapsed, leaving conditions worse than before. The latter, operating from within, inspired by the fiery zeal of the Cluniac reformers, and supported by the vast power of the greatest German emperor, showed unquenchable vitality, and advanced logically to results alike unexpected by its initiators and disastrous to the imperial power. A church which realized the ideal of the Cluniaes could not endure subordination to the secular power, but must strive first for emancipation from it, and then for supremacy over it.

The first pope elected after the death of Henry III. was Stephen X. (1057-1058), an adherent of the Cluniaes and a brother of Godfrey of Lorraine, who, with his wife, Beatrice of Tuscany, headed the national or anti-German party of Italy. Hildebrand, who was now the real head of the church, secured the confirmation of the regency. On Stephen's death the Tusculan party, in Hildebrand's absence, bestowed the papal dignity on Benedict X. (1058-1059). The reform-party — of course under Hildebrand's guidance — chose a rival pope, Bishop Gebhard of Florence, as Nicholas II. (1058-1061); and the arms of Godfrey of Lorraine secured his triumph. The distracted state of Germany permitted these struggles to go on without interference from beyond the Alps.

The future now belonged to the reform-party, which promptly made dispositions for winning its complete independence of Germany. In these preparations, and in the systematic creation of in-

stitutions essential for the preservation of this independence, lies the real import of the pontificate of Nicholas II. But the leading spirit was always Hildebrand. Without being pope, this remarkable man already ruled the church, and, with a firm hand and the eye of a pilot, guided it in its course. The whole generation fell under the sway of his spirit.

The unhistoric view has been long renounced that branded Hildebrand as a mere intriguing ecclesiastical adventurer, actuated only by self-seeking worldliness, and as a liar and hypocrite. Even the enemies of the principles represented by him recognize in him one of the most powerful figures in the Middle Ages, and, with Nicholas I. and Innocent III., one of the authors of the world-dominating power of the papacy. That Hildebrand was in deadly earnest in vindicating what he held to be the divine rights of the church, and that in enforcing these on a recalcitrant world he believed he was obeying the command of Heaven, no one will now venture to question. Still, while we recognize his high purpose and real greatness, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the forces set in operation by him were in many ways fatal to the church herself, and that in guiding her into paths culminating in heights of dizzy elevation he was really preparing her for a fall proportionally deep. It is all the more matter of regret that we have no satisfactory nor coherent account of the progressive development of this great man, but only meagre and inconsecutive fragments.

Hildebrand cannot have been forty years of age when he was appointed by Nicholas II. archdeacon in the Roman church, and practically took its whole guidance on himself. The son of a Tuscan peasant proprietor, born in the village of Saona, he was trained for the church in the severe discipline of the Cluniaes. Gregory VI. chose Hildebrand to be his chaplain, in which capacity he accompanied him, after the Synod of Sutri, in his exile to Germany. Hildebrand thus became familiar with the whole situation of the empire, which seemed at that time to imply a full guaranty for its undisturbed permanency. Like all Cluniaes, he looked up with high veneration to Henry III., whom he had often seen in the midst of his court surrounded by submissive ecclesiastical and secular magnates. In the beginning of 1049, Hildebrand accompanied Bruno of Toul to Rome, when the latter, as Leo IX., made his pilgrimage thither; and there, by the side of this first Cluny-inspired pope, he developed an all but irresistible

earnestness and energy. He induced the new pontiff to have his nomination by Henry confirmed by a subsequent free election, and seems, more than the feverishly busy and restless pope, to have been the author of those later endeavors for reform which were to carry forward, in a purely ecclesiastical spirit, the revival initiated by the emperor. Thus was begun that mighty movement that was to result in the emancipation of the church from the authority of the state, but not necessarily in the subordination of the state to the church, which Hildebrand, in his later contention, maintained to be the order of things willed by God.

The first open step in this direction was taken at the Lateran Synod of Nicholas II., in 1059. The distinctive work of this council was the adoption of entirely new regulations—directed against the German kingdom and the prerogatives conceded to Henry III., and also against the excessive influence of the populace of Rome—in regard to the election of a pope. According to these, the right of election was no longer to be vested in the clergy, nobles, and the people of Rome concurrently, but in a purely ecclesiastical constituency consisting of the seven suffragan bishops of the diocese of Rome, together with the priests of the twenty-eight head churches of the city, and the eighteen deacons of the Roman hospitals. This was the origin of the College of Cardinals. The emperor, and also the common clergy and populace, retained a merely nominal right of confirmation. These regulations were subsequently somewhat modified. The growing power of the friendly Normans in Lower Italy, whose leader, Robert Guiscard, had received the duchy of Apulia as a fief of St. Peter, was counted on to supplement, if necessary, the spiritual weapons of the reformers with good steel swords and lances. The national party in Italy could also be relied on to assist in any attempt to weaken or humble the imperial house.

The reorganization of the church was not to be effected without a struggle. The hitherto independent ecclesiastical authorities, especially, found it hard to submit to the subordination with which they were threatened. Chiefly was this the case in Milan, where the successors of St. Ambrose had from early times preferred the claim that they stood only a little below those of St. Peter. All the abuses against which the Cluniac reformers—victorious in Rome—were contending, were especially rampant in the Milanese church; and their suppression threatened many long-established interests. The higher church offices there had been for generations

vested in certain families, and the rich incomes derived therefrom constituted part of their recognized fortunes. In keeping with this, were the dissolute lives of the higher Milanese clergy. Nowhere was simony more flagrantly practised; nowhere was the seventh commandment more glaringly violated. To meet the case, Nicholas II. decreed the subjection of the archbishopric of Milan to the rule of St. Peter, and the supremacy of the severe discipline of the Cluniacs over the Italian church. Amongst the inferior clergy and the masses, Nicholas was sure of efficient help, as, in the lower social strata, the Cluniacs found numerous adherents. In this way Milan quickly became the scene of a bitter conflict, at once politico-ecclesiastical and social. Under the leading of two reforming clerics, Ariald and Landulf, in whom religious enthusiasm and demagogic ability were equally conspicuous, there arose the party of the 'Innovators,' strongly represented among the guilds of upper Italian cloth-weavers, — the Patari, — and by their opponents therefore nicknamed the Patarines. These were arrayed against the higher clergy as representing the old system, and especially against the archbishop, Guido, who was compelled to submit to the bishop of Rome. But the ferment continued, the worsted party waiting only for an opportunity to shake off the yoke of Cluny, and restore the old order of things. Every shock to the papal authority threatened to evoke a new rising in Lombardy, where, in the event of a conflict with Rome, the German kingdom had not only trustworthy allies, but a strong base of operations for a prolonged conflict.

Under Nicholas II., Hildebrand's policy, in a few years, achieved great results. The dependence of the papacy on the kingdom of Germany was reduced to an empty shadow; the victory over the Milanese extended its authority far beyond the bounds of Italy; from the popular movement — especially in the Upper Italian communes — it derived a great accession of strength: its alliance with the Normans placed at its disposal, in case of need, a war-inured army, which in conjunction with the strength of the princes arrayed under Godfrey of Lorraine and Beatrice of Tuscany for the independence of Italy, made it strong enough to face every foe. And all this was brought about without Germany — at whose expense the whole had been effected — making even an effort to interpose a check or defend the prerogatives of the empire. And when, later, such an attempt was made, it served only to manifest the state of disorganization and deep decadence into which the state had fallen since the days of Henry III.

Henry III. himself had left it in a certain degree of ferment. His moral and political reforms offended powerful interests among both the nobility and the clergy. In these circles, therefore, while the death of the great emperor called forth little lamentation, men saw little to encourage them in the way things were developing under Nicholas II. Thus there strictly stood only the 'crown servants' or official class, on the side of the Salian kingdom.

Under these conditions, the position of the Empress-Dowager, Agnes of Poitou, was a difficult one from the beginning. Suspected from the first as a foreigner, she dared act only with the greatest caution. An understanding with Rome could not be arrived at while the German bishops, led by Hanno II. of Cologne, were resentful that they were not better defended against the encroachments of the papacy. The regent had therefore to look for support to the secular princes; but this was purchasable only by concessions which scattered to the winds the principles, already compromised, of the hereditary kingdom, and which were, in part at least, to be carried into execution in forms that seriously affected the prestige of the imperial government. On Rudolf of Rheinfelden, who eloped with her daughter Bertha, Agnes had to bestow the duchy of Swabia along with Burgundy; for which Berthold of Zähringen, to whom Swabia had been promised, had to be compensated with Carinthia and the March of Verona. But the bestowal of Bavaria on a Saxon nobleman, the intriguing and ambitious Otto of Nordheim, proved absolutely fatal. Everywhere the princes of the empire rose again to independence. No longer restrained by the strong hand of the emperor, their feuds and rapine once more filled the land, and precipitated the land into civil war. Especially in Saxony there broke forth, more fiercely than ever, the strife between the ducal house of the Billings and Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen. Under such conditions Germany lost its prestige with foreign lands, and the commanding position it had held in regard to the Bohemians, Poles, and Hungarians became a thing of the past.

At this juncture Germany was offered an opportunity to recover her prestige. Nicholas II. died in July, 1061; and a schism immediately ensued between the reformers, who chose as pope Alexander II. (1061-1073), and the reactionaries, who rose with fury, especially in Milan, and elected Cadalus, bishop of Parma, to the pontifical chair as Honorius II. (1061-1064). The ecclesiastics of Germany foolishly favored Alexander. But the regent declared for

Honorius, and his opponent was reduced to great straits. At the intercession of Godfrey of Lorraine, an armistice was granted, during which the claims of the rival pontiffs were to be examined. The reform party stood in the greatest peril, when treachery and discord did their accustomed work in Germany, and struck a blow that permanently weakened the imperial power for its struggle with the papacy.

On Whitsunday, 1062, the enemies of the regent Agnes, both lay and clerical, including Hanno of Cologne; Bishops Burkhard of Halberstadt and Günther of Bamberg; Otto of Nordheim, Duke of Bavaria; and Margrave Eckbert of Brunswick — backed, it seems, by Godfrey of Lorraine — seized the person of the young Henry IV. by a night surprise. The accomplices now governed the kingdom as they pleased. Hanno, an austere reformer, was intrusted with Henry's education. He despatched Bishop Burkhard to Italy to work for the success of Alexander and the reform party. The administration of the state was to be in the hands of the bishops, each having chief power as long as the king remained within the limits of his diocese.

It soon became necessary to admit Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen to the government. He quickly towered above all others in the royal council, his word being ever the decisive one, as was evidenced by the increased energy of the administration, both domestic and foreign. Hungary was, in 1063, made again dependent. In the following year Henry was declared of age, and an end put to the regency. Agnes of Poitou entered a nunnery. The youthful monarch ruled — advised by Adalbert — at his discretion. The change made itself sensible in the ecclesiastical policy. The royal decision, through Hanno's influence, in favor of Alexander, could not, indeed, be invalidated; but the purposed visit to Rome was thwarted by Adalbert. This, of course, brought upon him the bitter enmity of the reform-party. This party conspired with the discontented princes and with the prelates, who saw everything lost that they had gained by the *coup d'état* of 1062, to compass the overthrow of the too powerful prime minister. The Saxons already threatened open revolt. In January, 1066, the widely ramified plot broke forth into action. At a diet held at Tribur, the princes, with Hanno of Cologne, Archbishop Siegfried of Mayence, and Otto of Bavaria, at their head, submitted to the king that he must either banish Adalbert from his court or cease to

reign. The king, who was compelled to yield, always remembered the humiliation. Notwithstanding the banishment of Adalbert, the government continued to be carried on in his spirit, only that, in place of the statesmanlike archbishop, men of low condition, and licentious young boon companions, had now the ear of the light-minded monarch, and boldly pronounced on affairs of church and state. Saxony, in particular, where Henry mostly held court, and whose fortresses he occupied with strong garrisons, soon complained loudly of the increased burdens.



FIG. 1. — Seal of Henry IV. The king is seated upon a throne, which is without arms or back; below two arches. He wears the pearl-studded crown, and holds in his right hand the sceptre surmounted by an eagle, in his left the imperial globe and cross. Legend: † HEINRICVS DI GRA REX. (From Heffner, and an impression in the British Museum.)

The records we have of this period are insufficient and unsatisfactory. Otto, Duke of Bavaria, is named as occupying the first place among the councillors of the king. Discontent reigned everywhere, while Rome pushed her aggressions continually.

In 1068, Hanno of Cologne had to appear as a penitent at Rome; with the Archbishop of Mayence and the bishop of Bamberg, he was summoned to appear before the Lent synod of 1070, to answer to the charge of simony. Henry IV. (Fig. 2), though he and his council were as defiantly guilty of the crime as they, left

them to their fate. From the Archbishop of Mayence the king desired to purchase, by the gift of the tithes in Thuringia, aid in getting a divorce from Bertha of Susa, to whom he had been betrothed when yet a child, by his father, from political motives, and married when very young by the princes without his consent. His plan met with opposition in Rome; and, commissioned by Alexander II., Peter Damianus urged him to desist from it. But the matter of the tithes caused great discontent in Thuringia. Henry thought himself strong enough to suppress by force all troubles resulting from such causes. A revolt of Dedi, Margrave of Thuringia, was severely chastised, when suddenly a charge was made against Otto of Nordheim of having plotted the king's death. Whether there was any real ground for the charge, or whether it was only a pretext for getting rid of a much-hated man, is still a mystery. Otto did not submit himself to the ordeal of the duel ordered by the court, and was adjudged to lose Bavaria, which was given to Welf III., son of the Marquis Azzo of Este, husband of Kuniza, the heiress of the house of Welf (· the Wolf ·) of Altorf in Swabia, from which the present royal house of England is sprung. Otto took to arms, but by Whitsuntide, 1071, was compelled to submit, and renounced Bavaria. Princes and prelates were without influence at court, and emphatic expression was given to the old Salian antipathy to the Saxons. The erection of fortresses on the slopes of the Harz Mountains went on uninterruptedly. The king resided mostly in Saxony with his gay companions, holding his pompous court in the castle of Harzburg, near Goslar. The licentious ongoing of his servants and followers lying in the forts, and their constant requisitions on the produce of the fields for their own sustenance and that of the court, gave rise to growing discontent among the robust and warlike peasantry, who saw their freedom threatened, and feared they would sink into being serfs of the court. At this juncture Duke Ordulf died; and his son, the young Magnus, was not allowed to succeed him, but was detained in prison while the king took possession of Lüneburg, the main stronghold of the Billings. There he carried out his long-planned conveyance of the Thuringian tithes to Siegfried of Mayence, menacing with death any one who should appeal against it. When, in the summer of 1073, Henry issued the summons to the army for the war against the Poles, the Saxons saw in it only a new piece of perfidy, by which, through the army thus called out, their land was to be



brought into complete subjection to the king. To evade this the Saxons prayed for exemption from the Polish campaign on the plea of the heavy burden imposed on them by the chronic border-war with the Slavs. Their rebuff gave the signal for a rising. Nobles and peasantry met at Eisleben, and listened to the words of Otto of Nordheim, who, up to this time apparently resigned to his fate, now took his place at their head, and called on the Saxons to strike for their liberties. The deed followed the word. On August 7, 1073, the Saxon national host appeared suddenly before the Harzburg, where the king lay with a small following. Only a flight by night over pathless, forest-clad mountains saved him from capture.

The princes gathered for the war against Poland refused Henry their assistance, and even talked of deposing him.

In April, 1073, Alexander II. died; and in open contravention of the election-rules of 1059, Hildebrand — up to this time archdeacon of the Roman Church — was, in a tumultuous and altogether irregular way, by inspiration it was said, elevated as his successor. A subsequent election by the cardinals gave a show of legality to his elevation. Confirmed by Henry IV., who had no just appreciation of the great movement nor of the danger with which it threatened him, Hildebrand, as Gregory VII., received consecration on June 29, in the presence of the Empress-dowager, Agnes of Poitou, and the Marchioness Beatrix of Tuscany. The reform-party, so unacceptable to the German prelates, thus, in the person of its uncompromising representative and head, seized the reins of the government of the whole church. Nevertheless the German episcopate blindly left the king to his fate. Henry withdrew to the lands on the Upper Rhine, there, in the centre of his ancestral domains, and supported by Worms and his other cities, to defend his crown. Particularly among their energetic and rising citizens, a warm sympathy developed for the royal dignity which had been so deeply insulted by the princes, lay and spiritual, and in the wearer of which they recognized their natural protector. The first stirring of a popular movement arose, which, if Henry set himself at its head, boded no good for the clerical and secular dignitaries. To avert such a contingency, these parties now offered their help to the king. Thus strengthened, Henry, in the middle of a severe winter, pressed into Saxony, wasting and ravaging as far as Hersfeld. Then the prelates recalled their strength; and in February, 1074, through the mediation of the princes, a compact was arrived at in Gerstungen,

guaranteeing immunity to the Saxons, and imposing as a condition on the king the demolition of his Saxon strongholds.

Henry, perhaps, regarded it as a piece of good fortune that the Saxons, in the stipulated razing of the Harzburg, were guilty of sacrilegious outrages by desecrating chapels and sepulchres, thus absolving him from the conditions of the compact. With energy, therefore, he resumed his schemes. The Saxons, through their atrocities, had made it impossible for the princes to continue their friends. Thus the king was enabled to invade Saxony in the spring of 1075 with a great imperial army. In June he surprised the insurgents, and inflicted a severe defeat on them on the Unstrut. A second invasion in the autumn effectually put an end to the Saxons' power of resistance; and at Spire they made their submission unconditionally, whereupon their leaders were carried off as prisoners. Henry IV. was now lord and master, not of the Saxons only, but of the empire, and had got reparation for the humiliations of Tribur and the Harzburg. With the confiscated estates of the rebels he rewarded the loyalty of his Rhinelanders and Swabians, whom he quartered as garrisons through the land, while he restored his demolished strongholds, and raised new ones. Henry's design was, that the subjugation of Saxony should lay the foundation for a new form of monarchy for the whole empire of the sternly absolute type that the Normans had imposed upon England and Lower Italy. The future of the dynasty seemed secured when the princes, at a diet at Goslar, chose Conrad, the king's first-born son by Bertha of Susa, to become his successor on the throne.

But the struggle that was to end in disaster to Henry, his house, and Germany, had already entered on its first stage. Gregory VII. had already developed his hierarchical system in its minutest details, and so come into collision with that system of absolutism before which Henry was resolved that both Germany and its church should bow. That either of the two potentates sought the conflict cannot be maintained. Its occasion lay in the circumstances, especially in Gregory's perception of the extraordinary propitiousness of the moment. His claims grew in keeping with his successes, so that he became at last a revolutionary of the heroic type, and subverted equally church and state.

When Gregory VII., at the synod held by him in Lent, 1074, adopted stringent measures against churchmen guilty of simony, he was only acting in harmony with the efforts in the same direction pre-

vionsly made by Henry III. But he proceeded in a demagogic and revolutionary spirit, when he not only called upon such as had acquired investiture by this crime, as well as those "living in concubinage" (i.e., married priests), to demit their offices, but released the people from fealty to such as disregarded this mandate. At Henry IV.'s court simony was practised unblushingly. We hear nothing of conflicts between the king and his state during the second half of 1074. But many such must certainly have arisen between Gregory and the German episcopate, the majority of whom persistently resisted the Chmiae reforms. At the end of 1074, Siegfried of Mayence, and the bishops of Strasburg, Spire, Bamberg, Magdeburg, and Würzburg, were cited to Rome. Otto of Constance was required to answer for holding intercourse with married priests. The German married clergy were alarmed at the attempt to enforce celibacy. Henry, reduced to straits through the Saxon revolt and the disloyalty of the ecclesiastical and secular princes, bore all quietly. Gregory believed he could bring pressure to bear on the king, — now threatened with new humiliations, — to force him to further compliance. In any case, he calculated on finding no resistance on his part when he took a decided step forward towards the development of the hierarchical system. This step was taken at the Lent synod of 1075 (in which only Burgundian and Italian bishops took part), by the renewal, in sharper form, of the interdict against simony, and by excommunicating for infractions of it five of Henry's counsellors, as well as King Philip of France, while suspension was pronounced on a great number of German ecclesiastical princes and certain Italian bishops. The injunction to celibacy was issued, and finally lay investiture was forbidden on pain of anathema. If the war against simony was justifiable and of real service, the two other synodal edicts threatened a social and political revolution. The enforcement of celibacy dissolved the connection between the clergyman and his people, and gave him over helpless into the hands of his superiors. Without support in the family, the congregation, or civil society, — with whom, henceforth, he had nothing in common, and to whose ideas and feelings he was a stranger, — he was to become a passive tool in the service of the will directing the whole church. Papal absolutism was thus complete. All this was overlooked at the time. In view of the scandalous relations resulting, especially in Milan, from priestly marriages, men generally welcomed the innovation. Nevertheless, it was long ere the injunction to celibacy was equally

respected in all parts of the church; and much later we often meet with traces of early-church views, which were not adverse to the marriage of priests, and required celibacy only from those who had attained a higher consecration.

Much more incisively did the interdict of lay investiture operate, which, if fully carried out, forbade any cleric to receive a bishopric, an abbacy, or benefice of any kind, from the hands of a layman, and punished any layman who should make such a presentation with exclusion from church-services. But as the church's renunciation of its worldly endowments — which might be inferred from the above — was the thing furthest possible from Gregory's mind, the decree, from the status of the German bishops, imported nothing else than that the king would be excluded from all disposition over the property of the church. Nor did it strike the lay nobility with less severity, to whom, on condition of their undertaking the incumbent services, the church estates were wont to be farmed out in fee. Many thousands of nobles and crown officials were thus threatened with dispossession. Such, however, does not seem to have been Gregory's intention, but rather the establishment of a principle by which certain abuses could be attacked. As, then, Gregory did not seek to draw practical consequences from his interdict, so Henry did not recognize any serious menace in it. Both seem rather to have found themselves on the way to a good understanding. In July, 1075, Gregory praises Henry for the bold stand he had taken against the simonists. They had a secret conference at Augsburg, almost certainly in regard to this subject. But in September, Gregory complains of Henry's equivocations because he desired the negotiations to be carried on openly. Yet he promises to open the bosom of the church to him, and to receive him as lord, brother, and son, and give him aid accordingly: nay, he wishes him success in reducing the rebellious Saxons. Evidently an agreement was looked for, reconciling both interests.

Henry IV. had as yet no idea of taking Gregory seriously. He wished to keep him in good humor, but at the same time proposed to go straight on with his own policy of asserting the royal power to its full limits, in matters both secular and spiritual. While, therefore, he drew the reins close on the German episcopate, his counselor, Eberhard of Nellenburg, appeared in Lombardy, — where the Gregorians were now without a head, — and gathered around him all the enemies of reform, with a view to common action. For the

vacant archbishopric of Milan, and for the bishoprics of Fermo and Spoleto, Henry named new prelates. He entered into alliance with the Duke of Apulia, Robert Guiscard, who had again been under the ban of the church for more than a year. In Rome a revolt broke out, which gave Gregory for a short space into the power of the rebels. Thereafter, on January 8, 1076, he addressed a letter to Henry, in which he remonstrated with him earnestly in regard to his proceedings. Reminding him of the story of Saul and David, he not only summoned him before a synod, but threatened him with excommunication if he did not listen to his counsel, and, above all, did not banish from his presence the excommunicated advisers.

This was certainly not only an earnest, but a harsh appeal. Yet it cannot be said that it went beyond what, according to the views of the time, was permissible, or that it implied a challenge to the king. Henry, however, regarded it as an unheard-of outrage. The prouder he felt himself on account of the full recovery of his power, and the more he desired to expand this into absolutism, the more was he irritated by opposition on the part of an authority which made use of weapons denied to him, and which, therefore, he must recognize as, in so far, his superior. Instead of contending with it, he thought, therefore, of annihilating it. He summoned the German prelates to a national synod at Worms, and twenty-six of them obeyed the call. One of Gregory's Roman adversaries — Cardinal Hugo — also made his appearance. He, it was said, supplied the material that constituted the groundwork of the decisions, — hitherto unheard of, and shooting far beyond the mark, — to adopt which Henry carried the assembly along with him, and that all the more readily because its long-accumulated resentment against the reform-party disposed it to overstep its competence. Not on account of Gregory having threatened him with excommunication, not even on account of the investiture interdict, menacing the stability of the empire, but on account of his whole administration of his office, and in particular because he was guilty of undermining episcopal authority, did Henry, as patrician of the Roman church, and in unison with the bishops around him, declare Pope Gregory deposed, and communicate the decision to him in insulting terms. In a collective note the bishops renounced obedience to Gregory. A courier at once carried the tidings to Italy. In Piacenza the Lombard prelates declared their adherence to the decree of Worms; but Gregory, immediately on its receipt, on February 22, 1076, laid the king under

the ban of the church, and excommunicated and suspended the bishops who had taken part in adopting the decree.

That the church dominated the spirit of the age appears by the effect produced by this papal edict, which not improbably was far greater than Gregory himself expected. It struck the king, rejoicing in the full possession of his power, down to the ground; and, if it did not everywhere inspire awe, many availed themselves of it as a pretext for renouncing his authority. The secular nobility, as if the ban had annihilated his regal rights, fell off from Henry as one man; and even the deeply humbled Saxons rose again, under Otto of Nordheim. Nearly the whole kingdom was out of Henry's hands. Again he retired to the cities on the Rhine, in order, with their help, to strike a blow for his crown. But when the bishops who had taken part in the Worms diet fell off from him, and made their peace with the church, Henry was completely isolated, and saw that he must seek his safety in negotiations. From Oppenheim, where he lay stricken with the ban, he came to terms, in October, 1076, with the princes assembled at Tribur. Henry was not only to disarm and evacuate Worms (thus giving up his mainstay), but remove from his council the bishops still adhering to him, and for the present refrain from all interference in state affairs. Finally he was to leave his quarrel with the princes to the arbitration of the pope, who for this end was prayed to be present at Augsburg, on February 7, 1077. In the event of the king not receiving absolution within a year and a day, his deposition was to follow without any further step whatever.

More deeply than at Tribur in 1066 was Henry humiliated now. That his dethronement was what was aimed at was beyond all question, the princes shunning to pronounce the word, only in the belief that they could more surely attain their end in a indirect way. They were persuaded that Henry could not obtain absolution within the prescribed time. But he himself saw in this the only means of saving his crown. By his interpretation of the Tribur compact, not only would this be assured as soon as the absolution was pronounced, but the pope's arbitration would become purposeless, and the kingdom would be spared its deepest humiliation. Accompanied by his spouse Bertha, his son Conrad, and a few faithful followers, he made his pilgrimage, in the depth of the winter, through Burgundy, over Mount Cenis into Upper Italy, where Gregory was already awaiting guides to conduct him to Augsburg. The pope's adversaries had not

overlooked their opportunity, and contemplated a *coup d'état*. In Lombardy the enemies of the innovations, all equipped for the struggle, received the king with enthusiastic acclamations. But, still dazed by the revelation of papal power which had been vouchsafed him, he pushed on to the bitter end.

Gregory VII. expected that the king<sup>1</sup> would unscrupulously avail himself of his opportunity, and, for security, fled to Canossa, a strong castle of the Marchioness Matilda, the daughter of Beatrix of Tuscany. Preparations were made against an attack. But the pontiff's first despondency gave place to overweening arrogance when Henry, on January 25, 1077, appeared at the castle-gate, — not at the head of an armed force, but with only a few trusty followers, and as a penitent. He was admitted to the outer court only, where he remained excluded from the pope's presence for the two following days. It appeared as if Gregory meant to deprive him of all possibility of recovering his throne through being absolved from the ban. But the harshness and injustice of this was earnestly represented to him by the Abbot of Cluny, Matilda, and others. He let himself be persuaded to enter into negotiations, but only with the view of making the fate of the Salian kingdom dependent on his will. On January 28 a compact was arrived at. One can hardly understand how Henry came to agree to it. His quarrel with the princes was to be decided by papal arbitration, for which end Gregory should be free to come to Germany, and his legates to come and go at will. Any breach of this contract was, without more ado, to infer for Henry the loss of his crown. Now, for the first time, Henry was admitted into the castle, bent his knee before Gregory, made confession to him, received absolution, and attended the papal mass. A feast in common followed; and, on the same evening, Henry left Canossa.

<sup>1</sup> The sovereigns of the German-Roman Empire, from Charles the Bald to the sixteenth century, claimed the title of 'emperor' (*imperator*) only after coronation by the pope at Rome, the election in Germany conferring that of 'king' only, with a prescriptive right to the coronation at Rome. Before his coronation the emperor was *rex*, *rex Francorum Orientalium*, *Francorum atque Saxonum rex*, or, from the eleventh century, *Romanorum rex semper augustus*; after it, he was *imperator augustus*, *Romanorum imperator augustus*, or, from the eleventh century, *Romanorum imperator semper augustus* (see illustrations of coins and seals). In 1508 Maximilian I., being denied a passage to Rome, was permitted by a bull of Pope Julius II. to call himself 'emperor elect' (*imperator electus*); and the later emperors, except Charles V., who was crowned at Bologna, assumed this title as a matter of right immediately upon election. Many English historians, including Hallam, apply the term 'emperor' to all sovereigns of the German-Roman state indiscriminately, or at least to Otto I. and all after him, whether crowned at Rome or not. — Ed.

He had abased himself to no purpose. Not only was the king humbled as a man by this agreement, but the dignity of the crown was deeply compromised. This Henry could not shut out from his consciousness. His enemies had overreached him. Thus none of the parties concerned in the compact of Canossa was satisfied, or was willing to abide by it. For the pope and the princes, who had gained all their contentions, appeared more ready to break it than the king.

The princes had learned of the king's penitential pilgrimage with great uneasiness. They dreaded an understanding with the pope at their expense. The reinstalment of Henry in his royal rights must be hindered at any cost. They openly violated, therefore, the Tribur compact, and thereby destroyed the possibility that the Canossa agreement might result in a decision in favor of Henry. In February the South-German princes held a diet in Ulm, and there received tidings of what had taken place at Canossa, and the message from Gregory, that they were held responsible for the difficult situation into which he had fallen there through their not sending him a convoy for his German journey in good time. To this was added an ambiguous admonition to 'persevere in what they had begun.' The meaning of this, there is little doubt, the princes comprehended perfectly, inasmuch as they summoned a new meeting, for the middle of March, at Forchheim, and invited Gregory to be present. His legates appeared so soon as it was opened; the secular princes were there in large numbers, with thirteen bishops. Nothing of consequence was treated of publicly, the meeting confining itself to giving its sanction to what the leaders had agreed on in private. Only the dethronement of the tyrant — as they called the king — could give security. It was decided to proceed at once to the choice of a new king. Rudolf of Swabia was elected, largely through the influence of the legates, who, however, bound him to refrain from all interference with the appointment to German bishoprics, and from simony. This concession had more of formal than of material value, and did not directly infringe on the king's power of disposition over the temporalities of the church. Much greater and more immediate was the gain in power made by the princes at Forchheim in having it declared, with the assent of the legates, as a principle for all time, that the German crown was not hereditary but elective, the son of a late king having no claim preferable to that of others. Thus the victorious ecclesiastical revolution and the rebellious lay nobility divided between them the spoils of the overthrown hereditary monarchy.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE ECCLESIASTICAL, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL CONFLICT IN THE EMPIRE, UNDER HENRY IV.

(A.D. 1077-1106.)

HENRY IV.'S pilgrimage to Canossa had resulted in nothing but his personal humiliation and an abasement of the monarchy which made his enemies appear in the eyes of the world as victors. The day of Canossa demonstrated the supremacy of the papal power over all secular authority. This right which the papacy had vindicated for itself over the German monarchy, hitherto claiming a world-wide sovereignty, applied, *a fortiori*, to all other states. A new order of things dawned for church and state and society, altering or confounding men's ideas in regard to rights, or converting them into their opposites. On the revolutionary transformation of the papacy and monarchy, there quickly followed an ecclesiastical and political revolution that shook the traditional social order to its foundations.

The important and real merit of Henry IV.'s rule lie in this, that he threw himself bravely forward against this ecclesiastical revolution, and defended with wonderful tenacity the future of the German empire and the German people, and, in spite of many misadventures, on the whole with success. What he effected under the most unfavorable conditions affords indubitable evidence, not only of his persistency, but of ability and fertility of invention, as well as of a certain political idealism. The great struggle, which was opened by the conference at Canossa, gave to the last thirty years of Henry IV.'s reign the character of an era of social revolution. The struggle between the empire and the papacy in the ecclesiastical sphere, and between the monarchy and the princes in that of politics, received its true significance and supreme importance from the contemporaneous great social conflicts, in which Henry stood at the head of the liberty-craving and patriotic elements of the German people and clergy. Of the latter, it was especially the parish clergy — whose family relations had been torn asunder by the

enjoinment of celibacy, and who found themselves threatened in their dignity as men and priests by the concentration of all power under one absolute will—who stood firmly by Henry. His lay supporters consisted mainly of three elements: First, the lower nobility, whose position in the empire, as they found by experience, rose and fell with that of the Salian dynasty; secondly, the cities, and particularly the rapidly rising cities on the Rhine and Danube, which were now shaking themselves free from episcopal domination; thirdly, the mass of the peasants in the western districts, who sought to place their sorely threatened liberty under the protection of the monarchy. The forces thus arrayed on Henry's side, consisting of the most numerous, energetic, and vigorous portion of the German people, enabled him to wage to its bitter end a conflict, at the opening of which his defeat seemed inevitable.

The diet of Forchheim had as its consequence years of savage civil war for the empire. In vain did Henry point to the agreements at Tribur and Canossa, and call on the pope to intervene against Rudolf of Swabia, whom the covenant-breaking princes had set up as anti-king. He received the answer, that Rudolf's defence must first be heard. The church applied a double standard, for it charged Henry's alliance with Gregory's Lombard enemies as a flagrant breach of faith. Thus was the empire filled with a devastating struggle that was fought out in feuds innumerable. While the king's main efforts were directed to overpowering the Saxons, his enemies strove to get the main positions of the Salians on the Upper Rhine and Neckar into their power. In the summer of 1077 the anti-king made an attempt on Würzburg, which proved fruitless. On a second attempt on this strong place, Henry hurried to its relief: and on August 7, 1078, an indecisive battle ensued at Melrichstadt. At about the same time the rebel nobles of Swabia routed an army of 12,000 peasants advancing to Henry's help. All the more earnestly did Henry wish to gain a footing in Swabia; and, deposing Rudolf, who through his disloyalty had forfeited all his rights, he conferred the dukedom on the brave Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Count of Büren, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. In a winter inroad into Saxony, Henry was defeated on January 27, 1080, at Flarchheim, by Otto of Nordheim. This emboldened Gregory to further proceedings. At his Lent synod of 1080, he renewed—on the ground of entirely unproved charges, brought by Rudolf of Swabia, and without giving the king's envoys a hearing—the ex-

communication of Henry and his adherents, and declared his subjects absolved from their allegiance to him. He claimed for the church and its representatives pre-eminence over every form of earthly power, and their unlimited right of disposition over every kind of worldly property. Empowered as they were to loose and bind in heaven, Gregory declared to the assembled bishops that they were empowered on earth to take from or give to each, according to his deserts, empires, kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, marquises, countships, and all other possessions; for if they had taken away patriarchates, archbishoprics, and bishoprics from the perverse, and conferred them on the worthy, they were, beyond all doubt, in a still higher degree authorized to deal in like manner with all earthly possessions. It would be well, therefore, for the kings and princes of this world to be persuaded of this, so that, mindful of what bishops are and of what they can do, they may beware in the future of disregarding their commands. In these words Gregory disclosed, in bluntest form, and in the true spirit of revolutionary radicalism, the true aims of the hierarchical papacy. No pope had ever before claimed for himself the dominion of the world so openly and defiantly. Before the amazed multitude in St. Peter's Church he, prophet-like, foretold the coming judgment of God to the anathematized king, according to which he was to be either dead or dethroned by next Peter and Paul's day.

But the very boundless extravagance of such claims served to show that the means at the disposal of the church were not so unlimited in fact. The war to which the pope now summoned the bishops was no longer against Henry only, no longer even against the German king, but—irrespective of dynasties and empires—against all states, and, above all, against the state itself. Even the churches of the several lands saw themselves seriously menaced by this latest programme of the hierarchy. For, practically, no church could, for the future, administer its own property, but would do better to make it over unreservedly to the Roman curia, if, henceforth, admission to all spiritual offices could be granted only by the pope, or the metropolitan of the see, acting under him. Ostensibly, indeed, it was made to appear that this stipulation applied only to offices which had been conferred by patrons, spiritual or lay, who had permitted themselves to be influenced by any ‘worldly consideration.’ But under this illimitably extensible phrase, anything and everything could be included; and ways innumerable

were disclosed to the Curia of making short work with the church properties, directly, or through the loyally subservient metropolitans. Such an outlook — threatening, as it did, a complete revolution in the relations of property — was intolerable, not only to the empire and the lay nobles, but to the clergy themselves, and called into the field numerous fresh enemies of Gregory and his scheme, so that he now, for the first time, saw himself confronted by an energetic, organized, and fearless opposition, that menaced him on all sides at the moment when he calculated on reaping the fruits of his imagined victory.

The rising in Lombardy, which had been scarcely put down, was renewed with greater vigor than before. Everywhere, where the memory of the former comparative independence from Rome was yet alive, men sought to protect themselves against complete subjugation. Above all, the perception of Gregory's ultimate aim worked a reaction in Germany, and especially in the episcopal circles. At Easter, 1080, the bishops had deliberated with Henry in Bamberg about throwing off his yoke; and at a diet in Mayence, at Whitsunday, the step was taken, the lay princes present declaring their assent, and the Italian bishops were invited to give their support. The ban had lost its effect — no one regarded it, no one refused adherence to Henry on account of it. The king's authority was re-established; and, in place of the defensive, he could now assume the offensive. German public opinion was plainly in his favor, and deep aversion to Gregory took possession of men's minds. They denounced him as a usurper of the papacy, and the subverter of all rights, divine or human. In June, 1080, the German and Italian bishops favorable to the king — and they were the majority — assembled round Henry at Brixen, Gregory's old antagonist, Cardinal Hugo, coming again prominently into view. Here, as at Worms, he fomented revolt, and gave a show of ecclesiastical legitimation to the charges brought against the pope. But what could with justice be alleged against him were not included in these. Rapine, murder, incendiarism, and perjury were what the rude temper of the time suggested as natural accusations. To these the bishops added the (in their eyes) still more heinous aggravations of scepticism in regard to transubstantiation, of heathen superstition, divination, and sorcery. With one voice the Brixen synod deposed Gregory from the pontifical chair. It had more difficulty in nominating a successor. The choice fell on Archbishop Guibert of

Ravenna, a prelate of unblemished life and high endowments, who assumed the title of Clement III. Henry promised to come with an army to Italy, in his support, within a year; and the young King Conrad accompanied the anti-pope at once to Ravenna.

On June 29—the day on which, according to Gregory's arrogantly over-confident presage, Henry should have been dead or dethroned—the king broke up from Brixen to renew the war. After confirming Gregory's deposition at Mayence, in association with the archbishops of Cologne and Treves and numerous bishops, he advanced against the Saxons, whose gallant army of knights and yeoman infantry was encamped on the upper Unstrut. Inducing a part of these to retire, through sending out bands of plunderers to scour in their rear, he burst with fire and sword into the district on the east, where his Bohemian auxiliaries were to unite with him on the Saale. The Saxons followed him. At Hohenmölsen, on the Elster, a battle was fought, on October 15, 1080. The royalists had at first the advantage; but Otto of Nordheim won the victory for the Saxon standards, captured the royal camp, and, by breaking through the bands of Lorrainers, completed Henry's overthrow. But the Saxon victory cost the life of the anti-king, Rudolf of Swabia (Fig. 3). His death made a deep impression on his contemporaries. Men saw in it a judgment of God, not on him alone, but also on the pope, already discredited by the falsification of his too-daring prophecy. Henry deemed the moment auspicious for an attempt to come to an understanding with the Saxons, and seems to have gone so far as to hold out to them the idea of a separate Saxon kingdom under his son Henry. But even this did not satisfy this self-willed people. They insisted on the dissolution of their connection with the Salian house.

But Henry's German enemies were now leaderless, and incapable of energetic action. Leaving, therefore, his home interests to be cared for by Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, he hurried south into Italy. There, too, the prospects were favorable. Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, was engrossed by his struggle with the Byzantines, from whom he sought to wrest the Ionian Islands, and consequently could do nothing to impede the advance of the German army on Rome. Matilda of Tuscany thus remained the pope's only stay, but she was not secure in her own domains. On Henry's appearance, Lucca, Pisa, Siena, and other cities turned to his side and that of the anti-pope, who, in the spring of 1081, had been ae-



FIG. 3. — Bronze plate on the tomb of Rudolf of Swabia. In the cathedral at Merseburg. (From Heffner.)

knowledge by the Lombard bishops at Pavia. Unimpeded, Henry continued his course southward, and at Whitsuntide stood before Rome. But Gregory held out unflinchingly, and his people stood by him. For an assault on the city Henry was not strong enough, and so at the end of June he withdrew. This raised the courage of his enemies in Germany, who found a successor to the anti-king Rudolf in Count Hermann of Salm, a man of energy, whose possessions lay in Lorraine and Franconia. Hermann, after defeating the Swabian duke in August, and unsuccessfully besieging Augsburg, was crowned, towards the end of the year, in Goslar. He was especially strong in Saxony, but, finding the conflict hopeless, abdicated his claims in 1088.

After a period spent by both sides in gaining re-enforcements and alliances, Henry again advanced, in the beginning of 1082, against Rome, which he began to invest during Lent. The anti-pope Clement, who was at Tivoli with his adherents, took part in the attack, but to no purpose. At Easter the king had once more to retreat northward. Just a year later he appeared for the third time before Rome, and assaulted the sacred city on several sides. The warlike spirit of the Romans began to fail. Neither the Normans, nor William of England, nor Hermann of Salm, were on the way to Rome; yet Gregory, defiant as ever, would hear nothing of submission. The Romans began to weary of the seemingly hopeless struggle, and to fail in watchfulness. On June 2 certain of the royalists succeeded in making their way into the unguarded Leonine city. These quickly gave admission to the main force; and the too dilatory attempt of the Romans to drive it out proved a failure. Henry was now master of St. Peter's. That he did not at once lay siege to the Castle of St. Angelo, in which the pope had taken refuge, is evidence of a desire for reconciliation. The city proper, also, he left unmolested. This made an impression on the Romans, and they accepted a proposal that there should be an armistice till November 1; and if by that time Gregory could not be prevailed on to crown Henry as emperor, then a new pope should be elevated who was ready to do this. It now became the main object of the Romans to move Gregory to compliance, and so to secure peace for themselves. Henry does not seem to have calculated on any results from their efforts; for, anticipating Gregory's decision, before his departure he caused Guibert to be enthroned in St. Peter's on June 28, the Leonine city to be fortified, and a castle to be erected near St.

Peter's, in which he left a German garrison under his son, King Conrad.

These half-measures did not have the hoped-for effect. They served rather to aggravate the resistance of the hard-pressed papal party. The rising of the Lombard magnates in Lower Italy brought Robert Guiscard home from Macedonia. Financial assistance enabled Gregory to attach the venal Romans anew to himself; and on the armistice expiring, and Henry appearing again before Rome, he was able to hold a synod, and pronounce the anathema against all those who hindered the pope from holding intercourse with the faithful, and to declare once more the oft-repeated ban against Henry. Nevertheless, when the king again encamped by St. Peter's, negotiations were resumed. But an understanding was, from the nature of the situation, impossible. There was no device by which Gregory could consent to Henry's attaining the imperial crown without ruining his own power. The resumption of hostilities became unavoidable. This was intolerable to the Romans, who were not the people to sacrifice themselves for Gregory's sake. Because the pope could not be brought to carry out the compact they had made with the German king, they renounced allegiance to him, and hastened to avert the threatened siege by compliance with Henry's will. A supply of gold which Greek envoys brought the latter from Alexius he expended in strengthening the peace party in Rome. On March 21, 1084, the gates were opened to him, and he made his triumphant entry into Rome in full view of the pope sitting in the Castle of St. Angelo and of his noble adherents, who still held some strong points in the city. A synod confirmed the deposition of Gregory, pronounced him excommunicated, and acknowledged Guibert as pontiff. On March 24 he was consecrated by the title of Clement III. On Easter Day, March 31, Clement placed the imperial diadem of the West on the heads of Henry and his wife, with precisely the same ceremonial that was observed on the coronation of his great father. But Robert Guiscard, with 30,000 Normans, was in full march Romeward. With such a force the emperor could not cope. Giving orders that the Romans were to continue the siege of St. Angelo, Henry himself, on May 21, drew off northward, leaving, however, a part of his Italian troops with Clement in Tivoli.

On May 26 Robert Guiscard stood before Rome. On the 27th partisans within the walls opened two gates to him. Ere the Romans were well aware of what was being done, the city was in the hands







From the Bayeux Tapestry, eleventh century. Battle of Hasting, between William the Conqueror and Harold. October 14, 1066.

From P. & D. Parker.

of the terrible Northman (PLATE I.<sup>1</sup>), who, first conducting the liberated pope to the Lateran, proceeded to repeat the scenes of horror then usually enacted on a place taken by storm. The memory of the 'Vandal terror' was revived to the Romans. Never had they been repaid by the church with baser ingratitude. In their bitterness of heart they saw with joy these merciless Normans invest Tivoli in vain. Followed by their maledictions, Gregory, who dared not remain among the excited masses, took his way, among his robber-protectors, southward to Apulia, whereupon the Romans opened their gates to Clement III. In the eyes of the world this was a great victory for the imperial cause and a severe defeat for the papalists. Did Gregory feel it as such? Of this his demeanor gave no indication. He maintained his extreme position with unfaltering resolution, and, from his residence in Salerno, would fain have moved heaven and earth to carry out his purposes. But his last severe experiences seem to have broken down his physical strength. He sickened; and from the beginning of the new year, his debility grew upon him so rapidly that, on May 18, he gave himself only eight days to live, and devoted all his thoughts to the future of the church. Repenting nothing, recanting nothing, with no word of peace or of forgiveness for his adversaries, but breathing forth war and strife,

#### <sup>1</sup> EXPLANATION OF PLATE I.

From the Bayeux Tapestry, eleventh century. The Battle of Hastings between William the Conqueror and Harold, October 14, 1066. In the cathedral at Bayeux, Normandy. (From F. R. Fowke.)

The Bayeux tapestry is composed of strips of linen, and is about 230 ft. long by 19½ in. wide. Various scenes are represented upon it in needlework, there being in all about 1512 separate objects. The tapestry is now in the cathedral at Bayeux, and was probably prepared by order of Bishop Odo (soon after the battle of Hastings) by Norman artists in Bayeux. The scenes refer to events in Norman history from the time of Edward the Confessor to the death of Harold. Our picture gives the closing scene, — the Battle of Hastings.

The Norman knights march forth from Hastings to give battle to King Harold (HIC MILITES EXIERVNT DE HESTENGA ET VENERVNT AD PRELYM CONTRA HAROLDVM REGE.).

In the next group Duke William asks Vital if he has seen the army of Harold (HIC VVILLELM DVX INTERROGAT VITAL SI VIDIT SSET HAROLDI EXERCITV).

The two armies now approach each other. Duke William orders his archers to advance. Then comes the army of Harold, and a fierce battle-scene, where sword, battle-axe, club, spear, and lance are active. The ground is covered with the fallen. English and Franks (Normans) are smitten down simultaneously (HIC CECIDERVNT SIMVL ANGLI ET FRANGI IN PRELIO.). The Normans occupy a hill; behind them the conflict has been brought to a conclusion; the English flee, Harold is slain, the troops of William the Conqueror gather together on the battlefield, and strip the fallen of their armor.

he passed from earth, inflexible and implacable, hoping only that the church would persevere for all time in the path into which he had conducted it. A better prophet in regard to himself than he had been in regard to Henry IV., Gregory sank to his final rest at Salerno on May 25, 1085. "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile," are said to have been his last words. From the influence of his mighty spirit the church could never liberate herself. When, five hundred years after his death, a spirit akin to his regained the mastery over the Catholic church, and, under the leading of the Jesuits, began the work of the Counter-reformation, a magnificent monument was erected over his remains in Robert Guiscard's cathedral in Salerno, and his name was inscribed in the catalogue of the saints of the church.

While his mighty antagonist was breathing forth his life, the Emperor Henry was holding a synod at Mayence, which again pronounced Gregory's deposition, and replaced a large number of his German episcopal adherents by loyal imperialists, decreeing also the 'Peace of God' (which had been for two years in benign operation in the neighboring dioceses) for the archbishopric of Mayence. This movement, originating in Burgundy about 1035, is found in two forms: one, to which by some the term 'Peace of God' is exclusively confined, forbade private warfare altogether; the other, found by experience more suited to the circumstances and temper of the times, is commonly known as the 'Truce of God.' This provided that all hostilities, public and private, should be suspended during the period hallowed by the passion and resurrection of the Saviour, that is, from Thursday evening until Monday morning of each week. Advent and Lent, the great festivals of the church, and, later, some special classes of the community — as husbandmen with their cattle and implements — were included in the merciful prohibition.

Henry's frank decision in its favor re-established in the happiest way the cordial connection between church and state, — the prelacy and monarchy, — disrupted in the most ruthless fashion by Gregory VII. King and bishop were united in a common care for the national weal, and so drew the hearts of the people closer to themselves (Fig. 4). His sovereign and his bishop became to the German the foster-fathers of his industrial prosperity and his social and intellectual progress, while, on the contrary, he recognized in the opposing princes and in the Gregorians, who had stirred up fratricidal strife everywhere, their deadly antagonists. Thus an entirely new dis-

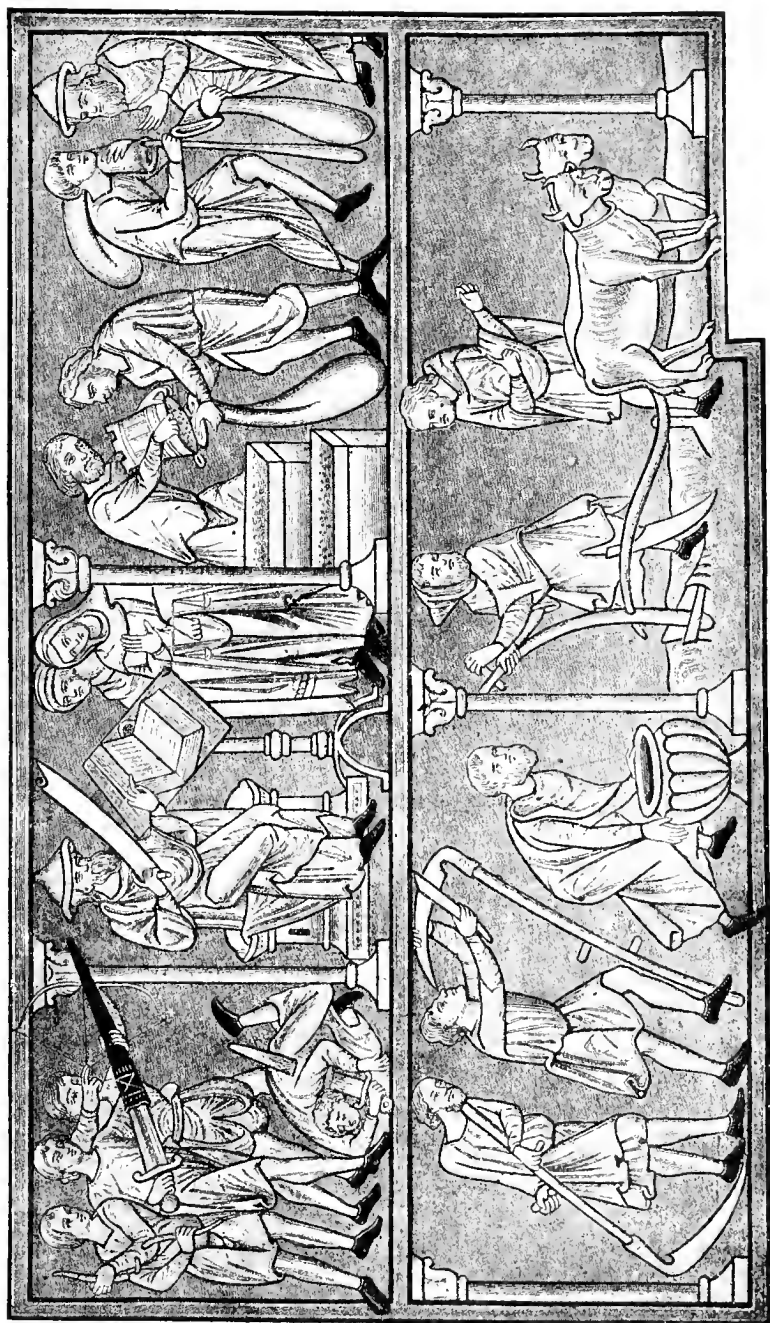


FIG. 4. — Life in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: soldiers, scholars, merchants, and farmers. Miniature in a manuscript of the Psalter of the thirteenth century. (From Lacroix.)

tribution of parties was brought about, which placed at Henry's disposal the best elements of the popular strength, and appeared to guarantee his ultimate success.

In what light must the catastrophe in which Gregory, through his Norman allies, had involved Rome have appeared when compared with these unselfish labors of the excommunicated emperor in the cause of peace in Germany? Even the Gregorians themselves could not shut out the perception of the contrast; and its recognition gave rise to a feeling of uneasiness and to a desire to modify, in some measure, the extreme rigor of Gregory's system. A sort of victory was gained for the moderate tendency when, of the three men that Gregory suggested from whom to select his successor, none met the approval of the cardinals. They elected instead the mild and conciliatory Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, who assumed the title of Victor III. In vain had Desiderius sought to escape the burden, even by flight; he was compelled to submit to it, and its weight brought him speedily to his grave (1087). But the time for mediation had not yet come; and in Otto of Ostia, one of the three recommended by Gregory, the extreme party again got possession of the helm. Only in the means he used did Urban II. (1088-1089) differ from Gregory: their aims were the same. Instead of by open force, Urban sought to gain his ends by indirect means,—by intrigue, by duplicity, and treachery. With the view of re-establishing an alliance between the German and Italian enemies of the Salians, such as had been effected in the time of Henry III., to the great advantage of the church, through the marriage of Godfrey of Lorraine and Beatrix of Tuscany, he negotiated a marriage between the youthful Welf IV., and the very much older Marchioness Matilda, the true servant and strong stay of the papacy. This brought the emperor, in 1091, again back to Italy. His capture of Mantua, after a siege of eleven months, was counterbalanced, in 1092, by a defeat he suffered near Canossa. But while he, with the aid of the Lombard cities, was arming for a new attack on the marchioness (Fig. 5), the emissaries of Pope Urban seduced Conrad to rebellion against his father, and even won over Henry's second wife, the depraved princess Adelheid of Russia. The church honored her as a 'vessel of grace,' and gladly availed itself of her vile services to make an end of the 'godless king,' who, as is exultingly related, attempted in his despair to commit suicide.

But even these means, astute as they were, failed of success.

The following year brought a reaction in favor of Henry. The 'Peace of God' took its onward course in the empire, and won over to its sovereign's cause thousands who had tasted of its blessings. These were, indeed, mainly of the lower orders, the serfs and villeins; for it was for them pre-eminently that the better times had begun to dawn. In addition, the promulgation of the First Crusade gave a new bias to many uneasy spirits, and relieved the

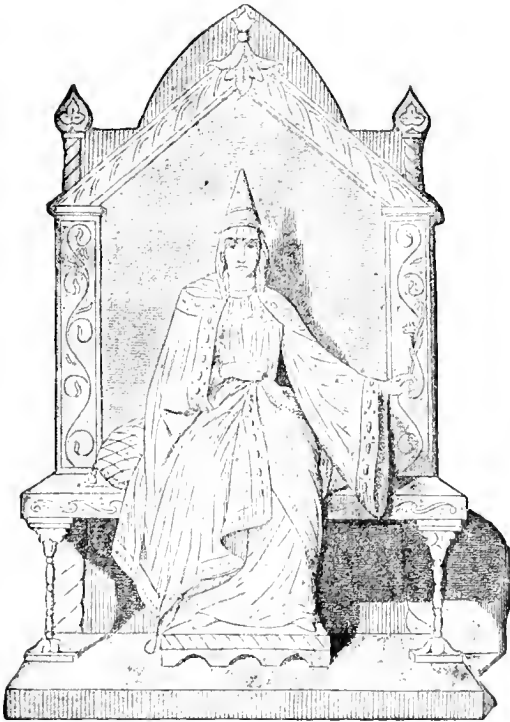


FIG. 5. — The Marchioness Matilda. Picture in a contemporary manuscript in the Vatican Library. (From Laeroix.)

land of their presence. There came a change, too, even among men of princely rank. The young Welf dissolved his marriage with the Tuscan marchioness; Berthold of Zähringen gave up his claim to Swabia, and made peace with Frederick of Hohenstaufen; even the Saxons renounced further war with the emperor. Nay, the princes, to show their disgust at the unexampled seduction of his son by the Curia, offered Henry their services, and deposed King Conrad, declaring his claim to the succession forfeited. Conrad died in 1105. In his stead, his younger brother, Henry, stood by the side

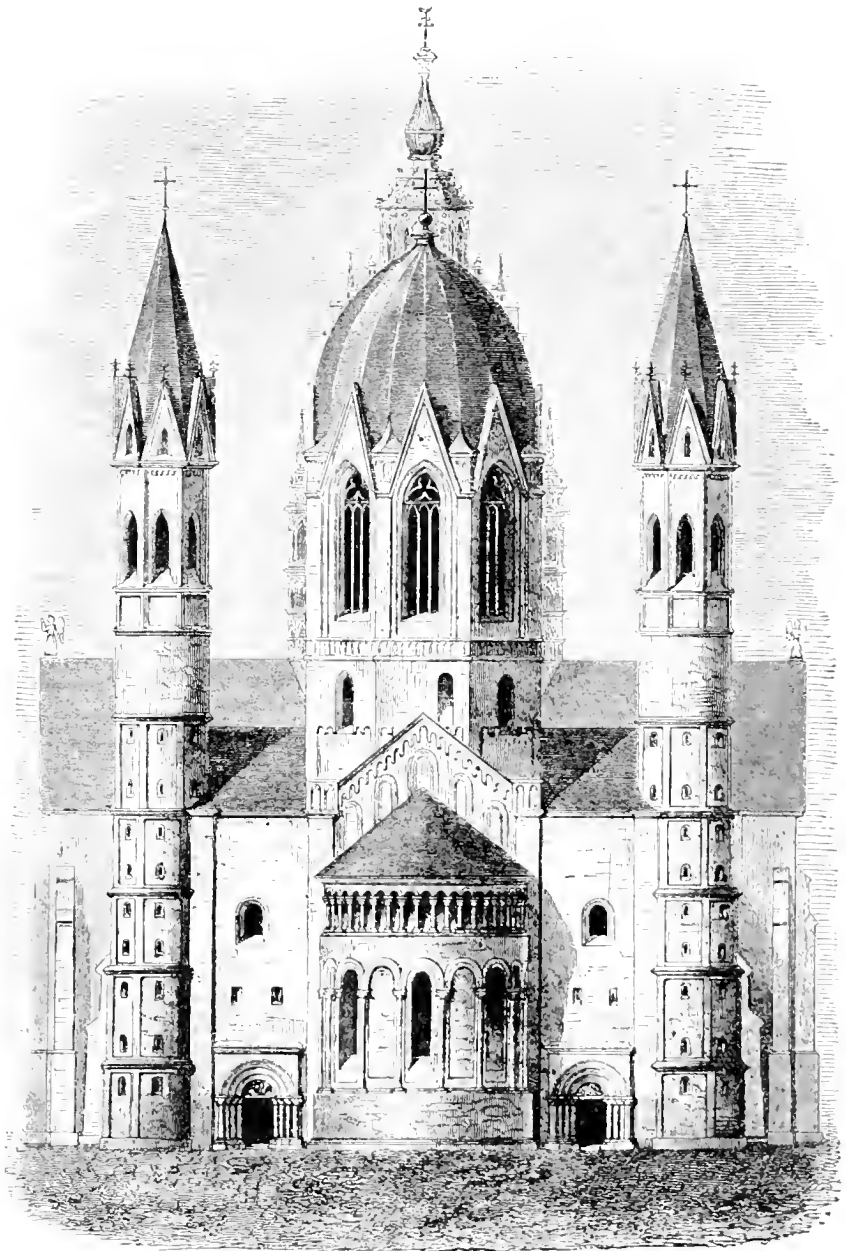


FIG. 6.     Cathedral of Mayence. View of the apse and choir (exterior). This building, the oldest of the 'vaulted basilicas' now existing in Germany, was consecrated in 1009, but was subsequently frequently injured by fire. the present structure was begun in 1081, and completed, after many interruptions, in 1239.



of his father, and in the beginning of 1099 was chosen king and formally crowned. The Roman church had now, as she deserved, lost all influence in Germany, where she had to see commerce flourishing and successful industry conducing to an economic revival. Urban II. died, July 29, 1099; but his successor, Paschal II. (1099-1118), remained constant to the policy of implacable hostility,

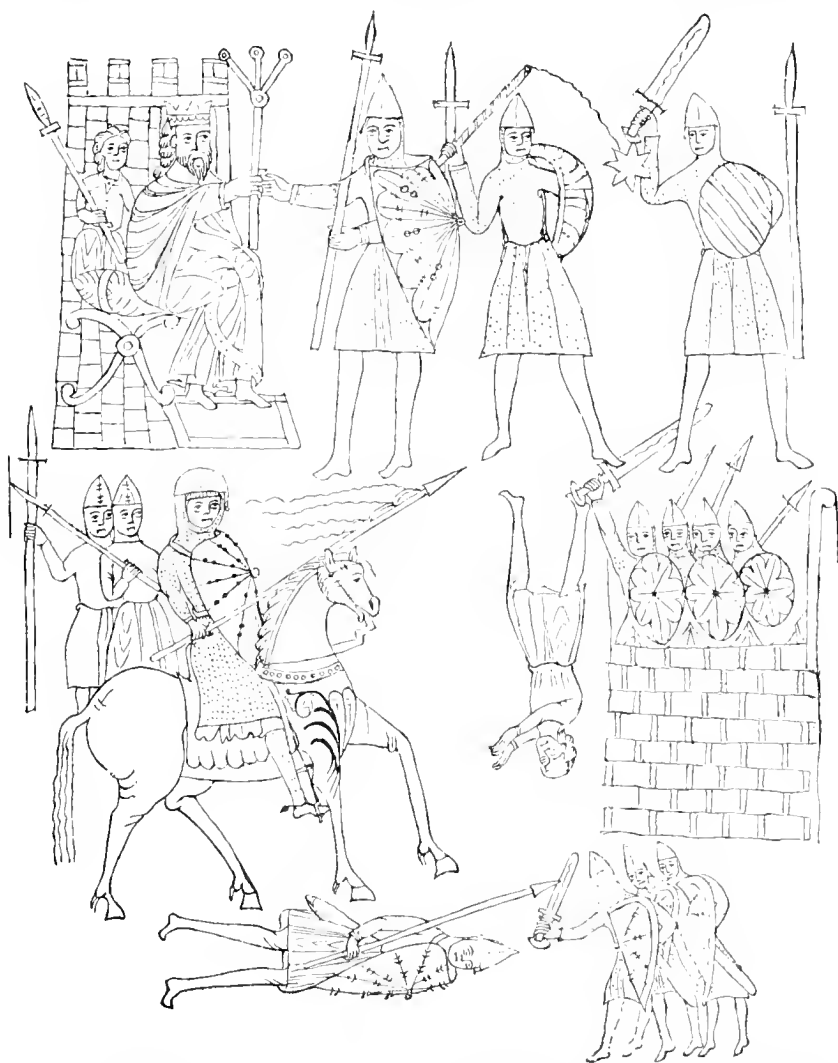


FIG. 7. — Soldiers and armor in the Twelfth Century. Pen-drawing in a Psalter of the twelfth century. (Berlin.) The subject is the story of David and Uriah. Below, the death of Uriah is represented; above, David receiving the tidings from a messenger who hands him his wand.

and made use of every expedient that promised to injure the emperor. But in January, 1103, Henry held an imperial diet at Mayence (Fig. 6), where the 'Peace of God' was proclaimed for the

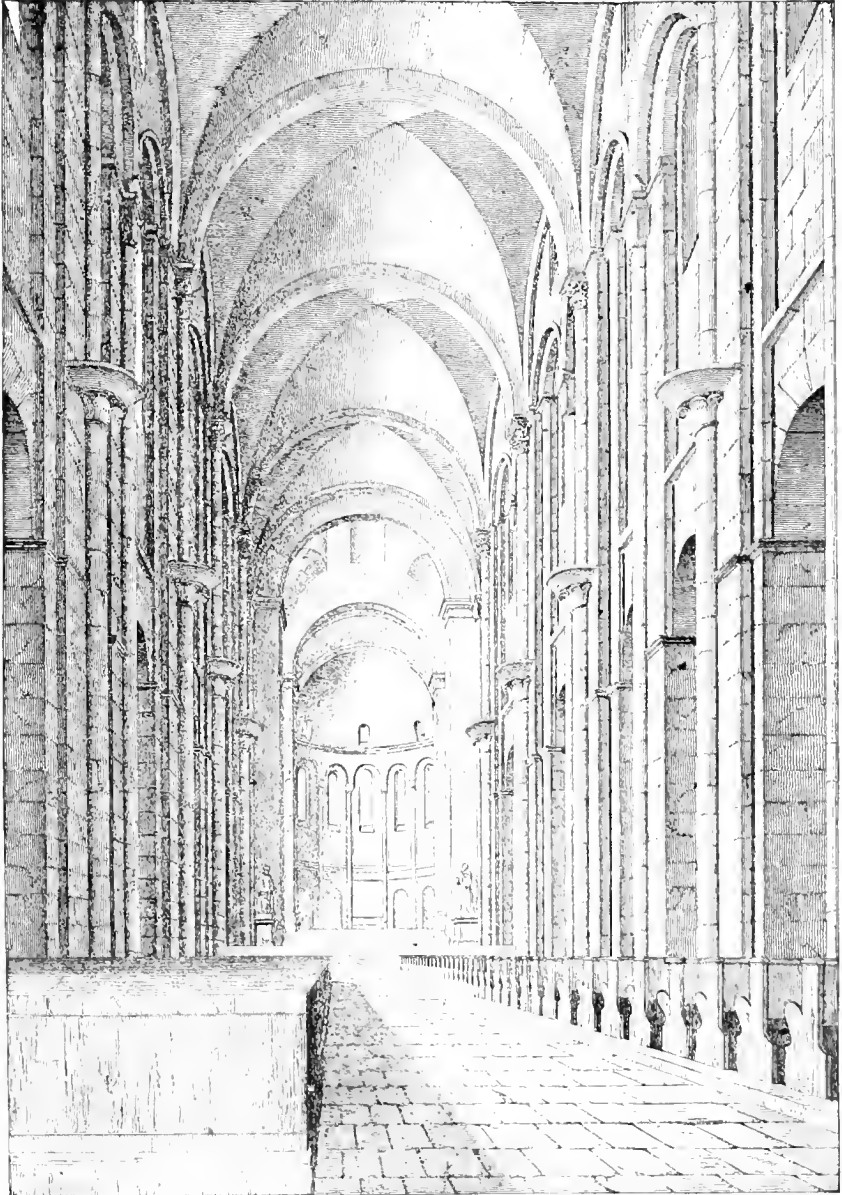


FIG. 8.      Cathedral of Speyer. Interior. Founded in 1039 by Emperor Conrad II., who was buried in it, and completed by Henry IV. (From Gaillhabaud.)

whole empire, and where all present pledged fealty to him for the next four years. Like his father at Constance, after his victorious campaign in Hungary (Fig. 7), Henry forgave all who had failed in duty to him, and remitted their penalties.

The diet of Mayence marks the culmination of Henry IV.'s power. The mass of the nobility, shut off by the enforcement of the Peace from their accustomed life of robbery and rapine, were, however, still bitterly hostile. They found a leader in 1104, in the crown-prince Henry, who, impelled — as he claimed — by religious motives,



FIG. 9. — Municipal Seal of Spire. Cathedral in the background. About three-fifths of the size of the original. Berlin, Royal Archives.

suddenly fled from court, and gathered the discontented elements around him. The cities of the Rhine country rallied to the emperor. The prince treacherously induced his father to intrust his person to him without a battle, promising to reconcile him to the church. He then cast him as a prisoner into the strong fortress of Böckelheim. The emperor, barbarously treated, was forced to surrender the crown jewels to his son, and to sign and read, after the manner of Louis the Pious, a most scandalous confession of all the sins ever ascribed to him by his adversaries. However, he finally escaped to Cologne, and thence to Liège. The prince hurried after him, but was repulsed on attempting to cross the bridge over the Meuse at Visé, and obliged to retreat in haste. His final overthrow seemed

imminent when the situation was completely altered by the sudden death of the emperor at Liège, August 7, 1196.

The early education of Henry IV. was defective, and doubtless his conduct affords opportunities for censure. But in estimating his character, which has been depicted to us by enemies, we should remember that during his reign, after its inauspicious beginnings, he steadily improved, both as man and as politician; that he was

beloved by all that were weak and oppressed, or that loved order and peace, — by the poor, by the townsfolk, by the husbandmen; that he fought strenuously to secure for Germany the benefits of the 'Peace of God'; and, finally, that he fought with all his strength, with an early realization of the issue at stake, and on the whole successfully, against



FIG. 10. — Silver coin of the city of Aix-la-Chapelle. Coined in second half of the fourteenth century. Original size. Obverse: Charlemagne figured as a saint, but with imperial insignia. Legend: SCS: KAROLVS MAGN: IMPOR. Reverse: VRBS: AQVENSIS: REGALIS: SEDES. In the inner circle MONETA AQVENS. (Berlin.)

the boundless claims and overwhelming power of the Gregorian papacy. His services to architecture are also worthy of mention, which included the restoration of the ruined cathedral of Mayence, and the completion of the magnificent structure at Spire (Figs. 8, 9).

That Germany did not become a fief of St. Peter's, did not sink into being a mere domain of the Vatican, but maintained its national independence — this is the distinctive service that Henry IV. rendered to his country.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE ISSUE AND EFFECTS OF THE INVESTITURE CONFLICT UNDER HENRY V., LOTHAIR, AND CONRAD III.

(A.D. 1106-1152.)

THE event soon proved that Henry V., despite his professions, was to be no whit more subservient to the papacy than his father had been. There were, indeed, some halting attempts at reconciliation. Paschal II., at the council of Guastalla, renewed the investiture interdict, but reinstalled several schismatic bishops as a measure of conciliation. He even talked of coming to Germany to adjust all difficulties with the king. Instead of this, he went to France, and summoned a council at Troyes. The envoys of Henry brought the sinister message that their master considered negotiations between Germany and the pope could be carried on much better at Rome than in France. The council of Troyes renewed the investiture interdict, and a renewal of the struggle became inevitable.

Henry employed the years from 1107 to 1110 in settling the internal affairs of the empire and in successful campaigns on the eastern frontier. He strengthened himself by an alliance with Henry I. of England, betrothing himself to that monarch's daughter, Matilda. In Saxony the house of Billung had become extinct; and the new duke, Lothair of Supplinburg, stood loyal to the king. In the autumn of 1110, all being secure north of the Alps, the royal armies advanced upon Italy. Henry, with 30,000 Germans, descended from the Great St. Bernard, while over the Brenner Pass came the Bohemian contingent under Duke Bretislas. Against such a force resistance was vain. Pavia, Milan, and Piacenza vied with each other in their haste to win Henry's favor. On the plains of Roncaglia, near Piacenza, the king ordered a muster of the imperial vassals with their feudatories and dependents. Even Matilda of Tuscany was there to do him homage, but out of courtesy was freed from taking part in the march on Rome. There was now no one to protect the helpless papacy against the stern constraint to

which Henry was determined to subject it. Paschal had not deceived himself; and out of the hopeless feeling that he was given over to the mighty monarch's hand sprang the amazing change in policy which made his defeat only the worse, and, in the eyes of his own associates, the more humiliating.

In conjunction with the extreme papalists, Paschal determined to preserve his consistency, and at the same time satisfy the king by a most revolutionary measure. He offered to crown Henry and consent to peace on these terms: First, the States of the Church were to be left to the pope; secondly, all other ecclesiastics were to renounce their temporal possessions; thirdly, in return, the right of investiture, which would now concern only spiritual power and privileges, was to be wholly renounced by the king; fourthly, the pope would excommunicate bishops who opposed the execution of the treaty. Henry readily assented, though he warned the pope that the conditions would be difficult to execute. He entered Rome, and (February 12, 1111) the ceremony of coronation was actually commenced. But when the full terms of the treaty were read, the congregation, consisting mainly of the princes and ecclesiastics of Rome, burst forth in such a storm of protests and savage denunciation that Henry judged it most prudent to retire hastily from the church, and then from Rome. He took with him, as prisoners, Paschal and sixteen cardinals. As it was evident that the treaty could not be executed, Paschal purchased his freedom by consenting to a new one. He conceded to Henry the right of investiture, and agreed never to consent to his excommunication; in return, he received the assurance of the royal protection. Solemn oaths were exchanged on the eleventh of April, and on the thirteenth Henry was induced with the imperial diadem.

Henry seems to have overestimated the influence of his victory, and to have assumed too high a hand on his return to Germany. Some parts, indeed, of his policy were most commendable. He imitated his father in the patronage of the great cities on the Rhine (especially Spire and Worms), and in other respects. The marriage with Matilda of England took place in January, 1114. But Henry drew the reins of power too tight. Duke Lothair of Saxony, the contentious Archbishop Adalbert of Mayence, and others, rose in an unsuccessful revolt, which was followed in 1114 by one more extensive and dangerous. The Saxons in 1115 defeated the imperial army under Count Hoyer of Mansfeld at Welfesholze. In June

of the same year Matilda of Tuscany died, leaving her rich inheritance to the church. Henry felt that there was in this far greater danger than in the revolt in Germany, and prepared to make his weight felt once more in the affairs of the south.

The humiliation of Paschal II. had resulted in a great diminution of his authority in the church. Several synods, and especially those of the Lateran, in March, 1112, and of Vienne in Burgundy, soon after, declared the concessions he had made null and void, because extorted by force. The synod of Vienne even put the emperor under the ban as a second Iscariot.

Henry V. answered the ban of the church by crossing the Alps (1116), as his father had done before him; but he did not go to Canossa. Venice, Pisa, the cities of Lombardy, took the field in his behalf. Tuscany submitted, Rome threw open her gates, while Pope Paschal fled to Benevento. In the summer of 1117 the emperor withdrew to Upper Italy. Paschal, after vain attempts to restore his power in Rome, died on January 21, 1118.

The most brilliant prospects now opened for Henry V. In Rome the strife of the parties burned with increased fierceness. Against the extremists and their leader, Gelasius II. (1118-1119), the noble house of the Frangipani, with their followers, made themselves for a short time masters of the city. Then Henry appeared again before Rome, whereupon Gelasius fled to Gaeta. Henry proceeded to the installation of a new pope; and his fast friend, Archbishop Burdinus of Braga, in Portugal, was raised to the chair as Gregory VIII. The situation was in no respect bettered; after Henry's departure, Burdinus could not maintain himself in Rome. But no more could Gelasius (who pronounced the ban on Henry and his anti-pope) abide in the turbulent city. In the autumn of 1118 he took ship for Genoa, and thence for southern France, where, since 1111, the actual leadership of the church had lain. He died, January 18, 1119, in Cluny. There, in the birthplace and centre of the reform movement, the cardinals who had accompanied Gelasius chose Guido of Vienne, the leader of the South-French extremists, as his successor. He took the title of Calixtus II. (1119-1124).

Considering the new pope's antecedents, which seemed to argue a bitter struggle, the era of peace which dawned with his elevation appears almost unaccountable. Instead of a passionate agitator, the church had now at its head a discreet and moderate statesman, who,

while holding fast to his principles, knew how to take circumstances into account, and was adroit enough to ask nothing impossible from his main adversary. Nor was the emperor—as had been evidenced in Rome—less disposed to accommodate matters. In other quarters a growing distaste for the continuance of the struggle manifested itself. The ban had lost almost all its influence in Germany, where the insurrection collapsed on the emperor's return from Italy. An imperial diet at Tribur proclaimed in June, 1119, the 'Peace of God' for the empire. At Rheims, in the same year, Henry and Calixtus vainly attempted to come to an agreement. Calixtus, returning to Italy, overpowered the anti-pope, Gregory VIII., and shut him up in a cloister. In Germany the Saxons and the Archbishop of Mayence rose against Henry in 1121. The hostile hosts confronted each other before Mayence, but neither party wished to incur the guilt of further bloodshed. It was resolved to leave the questions at issue between pope and emperor to a church council and an imperial diet, which, meeting simultaneously at Worms, came to an agreement in eight days,—such was the desire of both sides for peace.

The definitive settlement was embodied in the Concordat of Worms of September 23, 1122, which was designed to put an end to the war of the investiture, to restore concord between church and state, to secure both in their rights and interests, and to fix a clear line of demarcation between their domains. In Germany the prelates, chosen by free election in the presence of the king's representative, were to be invested by the sovereign, through the symbol of the sceptre, with their secular possessions as princes of the empire: they pledging themselves, in return, to fealty and military service. They were after this to be endowed by the pope with their pastoral authority through the ring and staff. The decisive point was, that the rights of the empire in regard to ecclesiastical possessions were fully recognized, and the entire resources of the German churches placed at the disposal of the emperor. The attempts of the extremists to detach the German church from the state were defeated. Matters were differently arranged for Italy and Burgundy. There consecration was to follow immediately on canonical election, the newly appointed bishop soliciting investiture in the temporalities within six months. If this were neglected, or if investiture was refused, they were, nevertheless, not to be prevented from using the political rights attached to their office. In Italy this was a matter



of comparatively little political moment, as the secular possessions of the bishops were small, and growing less. In Burgundy, on the other hand, the results proved ultimately very disadvantageous to the imperial authority. The peculiar constitution of the States of the Church made a special arrangement necessary. There, accordingly, the Concordat decreed that the bishops—as many of them as were temporal magnates—should be invested with their temporalities by the pontiff himself. The Concordat of Worms, therefore, bore the character of a compromise only in Germany, where the king was to have no longer the right of granting investiture through the ring and staff, and the pope no power of disposition over the church temporalities. In Italy and Burgundy, on the contrary, the church party had carried its point.

Calixtus, at the Lateran synod of March, 1123, confirmed the Concordat, renewing at the same time the decrees against simony and priestly marriages, and promulgated a general Peace of God, so that Christendom might anew equip itself for the struggle for the Holy Land. Henry V., after vain efforts to reconcile the obstinate Saxons, died at Utrecht, May 23, 1125. As he left no heir, it became necessary to resort to the principle of election in determining on his successor. The successor of Calixtus, Pope Honorius II., (1124–1130), at once declared that the Concordat of Worms was merely a personal concession to Henry, and terminated by his death. Thus the whole question of the investiture seemed about to be opened afresh.

The four great tribes, or ‘nations,’—the Saxons, Franconians, Swabians, and Bavarians,\*—assembled at Mayence in August, 1125, to choose a new sovereign. The claims of the Hohenstaufens, as nearest in blood to the Salian house, and heirs of its family domains, came first into consideration according to usage. But the two men who now stood at the head of this house—Duke Frederick II., of Swabia (through his mother a grandson of Henry IV.), and Conrad, his brother—were too well known as champions of the cause of the Salian sovereigns, and, above all, as resolute antagonists of the hierarchical claims, for every nerve not to be strained to secure their exclusion.

The division of parties was externally apparent. The Saxons under Duke Lothair, and the Bavarians under Henry the Black,—the Welf,—encamped on the right bank of the Rhine; the Swabians and Franconians, under Duke Frederick, on the left. A com-

mittee of princes, to which each of the four tribal duchies contributed ten members, was appointed to fix the conditions of the election, and to name candidates. This committee nominated Frederick of Swabia, Lothair of Supplinburg, and Margrave Leopold of Austria. Lothair II., chosen in an informal way, amidst much flurry and noisy wrangling, was formally declared king on August 30.

His election was a victory won by the princes of the empire and the church over the monarchy. But, although Lothair formally renounced the weightiest conditions of the Concordat of Worms, it was soon seen that his disclaimer was nothing more than specious. In point of fact, he successfully asserted his royal rights in the election of bishops, investing them according to the prescribed formula, and receiving their pledges of fealty and military service. Nay, he succeeded, in time, in having powers recognized in excess of those conferred by the Concordat. But he soon became involved in an unsuccessful little war with Bohemia, and presently in a much more serious struggle, — that with the great house of Hohenstaufen.

The immediate cause of the latter conflict was the king's demand that the Hohenstaufens should, according to usage, surrender and recognize as imperial all the possessions which had been confiscated by Henry V., and added to the royal allodium, but which had now come into their hands as heirs of the Salian house. Duke Frederick refused compliance. A legal action was instituted; and, in the end of 1125, he was outlawed in Strasburg. The attempt to execute the sentence gave the signal for civil war. Lothair, besides calling on Henry the Proud, the new duke of Bavaria (to whom he had given the hand of his daughter Gertrude) to aid him against his formidable foe, appealed to Berthold of Zähringen, on whom he had conferred the county of Burgundy. The struggle went on indecisively for several years. In 1127 the malcontents elected Conrad as anti-king.

Regardless of his pledges, Lothair persisted in exercising all the rights conferred on him by the Concordat. This led to open rupture. But while as king he came thus into hostile collision with the hierarchy, as duke of Saxony he entered into closest relations with it, with a view to co-operation for mutual advantage. The hierarchy had developed, in the last two decades, a new tendency, of which the Cistercians and Premonstratensians were the exponents. The former order originated in the mother monastery of Cîteaux near Dijon (Fig. 11), and was headed by Bernard, abbot of Clair-

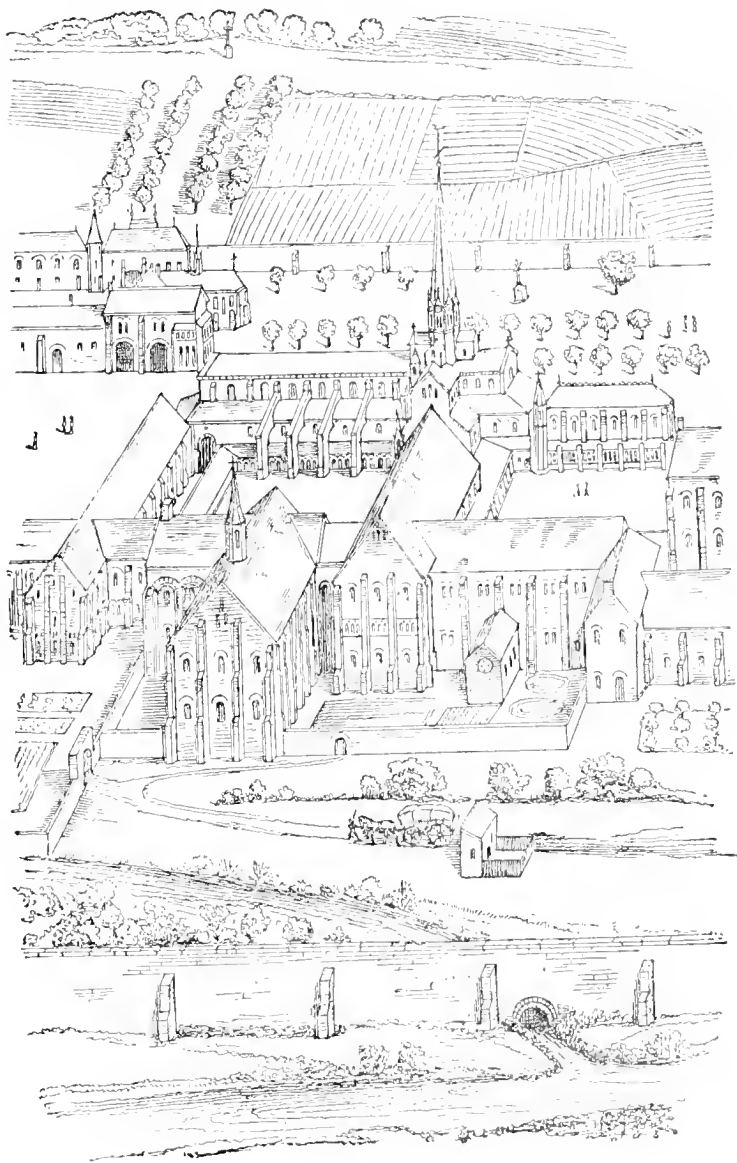


FIG. 11. — The Monastery of Cîteaux.

vaux. The object of the order was the revival of the earnest monastic spirit through austere rules, among which husbandry played a leading part. This order spread with marvellous rapidity, extending to the far northeast its forest monasteries, from which religion and culture spread all over the land. The Premonstratensians, issu-

ing from their mother-house of Premontre, near Laon, came to supplement the work of the Cistercians. Their special mission was the reform of the episcopate, with the end not only of promoting the spiritual discipline of the clergy, but also of bettering the administration of the church possessions. Their most eminent representative was Norbert of Xanten, after 1126 Archbishop of Magdeburg, for whose see, owing to its close relations with the Slavs, the practical instruction of this order made it especially adapted. Prompted by no churchly sentiments, but simply to promote the economic prosperity of the Saxons and further the Slavic mission, Lothair came into closest contact with Norbert and his brethren. The mission, under the fostering care of the learned Bishop Anselm of Havelberg, entered on an epoch of prosperity. Lothair continued the constantly and patron of the Premonstratensians, — the representatives of the stringent hierarchical principles, — and in so doing was, as duke, in utter inconsistency with himself as king.

A schism, arrogantly provoked by the extremists, brought a crisis upon the church. Under Honorius II. a lethargy such as is wont to follow on times of excessive excitement took possession of the Roman See. Even in the College of Cardinals a spirit of moderation, little in harmony with hierarchical views, prevailed with the majority: and, on the death of Honorius, in February, 1130, led to the election, in strictly regular form, of Peter Pierleoni, a man of stainless character, a member of a banker family of Jewish origin. Even the extremist minority gave in its adhesion. Immediately before the consummation of the election, however, the latter went back upon their word, and in the most irregular manner, and by five votes only, elevated the cardinal-deacon, Gregory of St. Angelo, to the chair by the name of Innocent II. Confident in their right, the majority remained constant to Peter Pierleoni, and enthroned him as Anacletus II. Most of Germany and Italy favored Anacletus, while Innocent found his chief support in the eloquence of Bernard of Clairvaux, which won to his side France, England, and the powerful Cistercian order.

But the decisive word was to be spoken in Germany. Anacletus II. would, without hesitation, have purchased the recognition of the German king by the restoration of the Concordat of Worms. But Lothair let the opportunity pass unimproved. His connection with Norbert, and the identity of Saxon interests with those of the high-church party, deprived him of the freedom of choice. The

duke prevailed over the king. A German synod in October, 1130, pronounced at Würzburg in favor of Innocent II., who meanwhile had sought refuge in France. Here he arranged for a meeting with Lothair, which took place at Liège in February, 1131. With a view to settling the disputed papal claims, and arranging other church matters, Lothair consented to make an expedition into Italy.

In the autumn of 1131 Innocent held a council at Rheims, whose brilliancy showed him in the eyes of Christendom as the only legitimate head of the church. In Innocent's rise the church-party saw the advance of their own views, and pressed the more impatiently on Lothair to fulfil his promise. But no peace had yet been made with the Hohenstaufen brothers and their followers. Moreover, no one seemed disposed to further anti-German interests, the victory of which would impose new restrictions on the monarchy. Thus only 1500 lances — mostly Saxon feudatories — followed Lothair southward in the autumn of 1132. Great results were not to be attained with so slender a force; and this the less, because, since Henry V.'s expedition into Italy, great advances had been made there towards emancipation from German supremacy. Verona and Milan shut their gates against Lothair, though Pavia, Cremona, and Brescia remained true to him. On the other hand, Innocent II. had got the greatest part of Matilda's rich inheritance into his hands, and won over Pisa and Genoa for the support of the campaign against Rome, and Roger of Sicily and Naples, Anacletus's chief supporter, who was just then hard pressed by a revolution of the Apulian nobility. Lothair, in the spring of 1133, moved southward, being joined on the way by Innocent and his followers. At the end of April both entered Rome; but, as the Leonine city, with St. Peter's, was in the hands of Anacletus, the king took up his position on the Aventine, while Innocent retired into the Lateran. Anacletus was excommunicated. Nevertheless, the so-called anti-pope's position in the city remained unassailable, as before. The Saxons wished to go home. Without the imperial crown, however, Lothair would not leave Rome; for an issue so fruitless would injure his position in Germany. Therefore, as St. Peter's remained shut against him, he resolved to have the coronation performed in the church of St. John Lateran. Innocent, on being assured of safety for life and limb, on June 4, 1133, performed the office. The assertion afterwards made, that Lothair received the imperial crown as a fief by military service, is altogether devoid of

evidence, and only illustrates the aspirations of the high-church party. Rather, at this time, a reaction in favor of the monarchy ensued. In the course of negotiations with the pope, Lothair renewed his claim for the formal restoration of the right of investiture, on the recognition of which in the present unsettled condition of Germany (where the Hohenstaufens still stood in arms), very important consequences depended. Innocent was inclined to be compliant, but the hierarchical party interposed obstacles. A compromise was ultimately made, conceding to Lothair personally, in consideration of his services to the church, what he had claimed as a right inherent in the monarchy. But the compact seems to have been purposely so shaped as to give grounds for various interpretation: for on June 8, 1133, Innocent by written instrument decreed that henceforth no one chosen to be a bishop or abbot within the German empire should assume the temporal privileges and possessions of his office (*regalia*) without having obtained them from Lothair, and having performed the customary duties. These were sufficiently inexplicit and intricate phrases, and only vaguely conferred powers on the king which doubtlessly belonged to him in virtue of the Concordat of Worms. It is quite possible that the emperor might have gained more, in spite of Norbert's opposition; but he allowed, as it seems, the principal matter at stake to drop, in consideration of a grant of extraordinary value from the Curia. By a second instrument of June 8, the pope made over to him and his wife, Richenza, in fee, the rich heritage of Matilda of Tuscany, now belonging to the church; the emperor, on his part, binding himself to pay 100 pounds of silver yearly as tribute, and to yield loyal service to Innocent and his successors, in token of all of which he received investiture by the ring. Materially Lothair gained much, but otherwise the advantage lay preponderatingly on the side of the church. For not only was the disputed lordship of the church over Tuscany thus unequivocally recognized, but, what was of still higher importance, the emperor acknowledged himself a vassal of the pontiff. He was this, undoubtedly, only as an individual, and not as emperor: but the church did all in its power to make the distinction forgotten.

Soon thereafter Lothair departed, leaving the hierarchical party by no means too well satisfied with him. For the anti-pope still sat in Rome: and the Apulian insurgents, left without support, succumbed to Roger, so that Innocent had again to desert his legitimate

seat, and seek refuge in Cremona and Milan. The emperor's position, however, had been materially bettered through his visit to Rome. On his return home the Hohenstaufen brothers at last did obeisance to him. A peace of ten years was proclaimed for the empire, under the protection of which the Christian missions and German civilization developed prosperously throughout the Slavic border-lands. In the neighbor kingdoms on the east — Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary — Germany recovered its former influence, so



FIG. 12. — Seal of Lothair II, 1125-1137. The emperor sits upon a throne with neither arms nor back: he wears a crown with pendants of pearls, his sceptre resembles a branch. Legend: † LOTHARIUS DEI GRATIA . . . . . IMPR. AVG. (From an impression in the British Museum.)

that she once more took her place as the centre of the western state-system, and her sovereign could resume his rôle as wearer of the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. The Greek court sought his alliance against the Normans. In entering upon such schemes, Lothair (Fig. 12) revived the traditional policy of the empire, and stretched his hand towards absolute imperial sway. Deputed by him, Bishop Anselm proceeded to Constantinople, while in Italy the zealous Bernard of Clairvaux was restlessly busy in secur-

ing universal recognition for Innocent. To insure this, the first step was the chastisement of Roger, who persisted in maintaining the claims of Anacletus. In this point the interests of the emperor and the church coincided, to diverge again at the moment of the first decided success. This determined Lothair's second expedition south of the Alps, its object being the conquest of Lower Italy, and the revival of the traditions of the Ottos.

At the head of a gallant array, Lothair moved southward out of Würzburg in 1136. Among the princes of the empire who now followed him there rode his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, and Conrad the Hohenstaufen, who was soon to attain high distinction. Re-enforced by his Upper-Italian vassals, the emperor, in the beginning of 1137, resumed his southward route. Apulia, whose nobles were again up in revolt, was speedily conquered. Naples, Amalfi, and Salerno succumbed in succession; Roger retreating to his island, and leaving the mainland to the victor. But Lothair and the pope soon fell apart, and the latter more than once found his will contemptuously disregarded by the lord of a hundred thousand lances. The Curia saw itself directly menaced when Lothair, in accord with the instrument of June 8, 1133, bestowed the Matildan lands on his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, who, as heir of the Estes, already occupied a commanding position in Upper and Middle Italy. Obviously Lothair (who had no son of his own) was paving the way for the succession of the Welf to the throne, and was endowing him in advance with the means for carrying out the revived imperial policy.

The papalists looked to the future with the deepest anxiety. But fortune unexpectedly favored them. Seized with sickness, after parting from the disillusioned pope, and disbanding his army in Bologna, Lothair hastened toward Germany, while Anacletus maintained himself in Rome, and Roger recovered Apulia. Scarcely had the emperor touched German soil when his case became so much worse that he was compelled to take to his bed in Breitenwang, among the highlands of Bavaria. Dying, he made over his dukedom of Saxony to his son-in-law, and indicated him as his successor on the throne by presenting him with the crown-jewels. He died December 4, 1137, and was, according to his wish, interred in Lutter, a religious house founded by himself.

In viewing the character of Lothair, we are most impressed by a certain rough practicality, which, disregarding the shadow, but seiz-



ing most forcibly the substance of power, stood him in excellent stead in his dealings with the Roman Curia and with refractory nobles. Of the definite results of his reign, the most valuable was the strengthening and advance of the northeastern frontier, largely through the emperor's own exertions and policy, and the ability of the margraves he placed along the boundaries — Conrad of Wettin in Meissen, and Albert the Bear, of the house of Ballenstädt, or Askanien, who conquered and ruled the important new mark of Brandenburg.

The vast power of Henry the Welf, who now ruled in his own right the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria, and the domains of Este and Tuscany, and the memory of the vigorous manner in which his



FIG. 13. — Bracteate of Conrad III. Legend: † CYNRATVS † LAMPERTVS (Lampert is the name either of the mint-master or of the Abbot of Helmstadt.) Above the king's head RE-X. In the field the bust of the crowned king in armor, with beardless face; in his right hand a sceptre, in his left a banner; the whole above a sort of arcade between two towers. Silver. Size of the original. (Berlin.)

father-in-law had maintained the royal prerogatives, alike won him the enmity of the Roman see and the turbulent nobility, and their joint opposition to his election. Conrad of Hohenstaufen, the pretender of the last reign, was now found willing to play the part of a priest's king. In the very grossest violation of precedent, Conrad (Figs. 13, 14) was chosen king, March 7, 1138, by the Swabians and Franconians alone, without the participation of Saxony and Bavaria. His attitude toward Rome was one of general friendliness rather than of specific surrender, except in special cases of the royal rights. The problem set before both king and church was to break down the power of the Welfs; and this they were unable to do. In the resultless struggle both parties exhausted themselves. Henry the Proud delivered up the imperial insignia, and, in return, required confirmation in his fiefs. Thereupon the law was restored



FIG. 11. — Equestrian statue of King Conrad III., in the Cathedral at Bamberg.

to force enacting that two dukedoms could not be combined in one hand. After brief negotiations, there resulted the inevitable breach. In the summer of 1138 the Welf was outlawed, and formally deposed from his Saxon duchy, which was conferred by Conrad on Albert the Bear. A new civil war burst forth, in which Lothair's widow, the masculine empress Richenza, sought to shield Saxony against Albert. Thereupon the king ordered Bavaria also to be wrested from the rebel, and presented it to his half-brother, the Margrave Leopold IV. of Austria, one of the numerous sons of Henry IV.'s daughter Agnes by her second marriage with Leopold III. of Austria.

In 1139 Henry the Proud died during a temporary armistice. His claims in Saxony passed to his nine-year-old son, Henry (later known as the Lion), whose followers speedily drove out Albert the Bear, while Bavaria was claimed by Welf VI., a brother of the deceased duke. In 1140 Conrad invested Weinsberg, a strong town of the Welfs in Franconia. Welf VI., advancing to its relief, received a defeat which completely crushed his power. In this battle, according to a later legend, first were heard the fatal battle-cries, 'Hie Welf!' 'Hie Waiblingen!'<sup>1</sup> to whose sound so many cities and battlefields were to be drenched with blood. The familiar story of the Wives of Weinsberg is but an echo of an old myth common to various ages and places. According to this, the women of the place, being permitted by King Conrad to leave the city, 'with as much of their most precious possessions as they could carry,' before the expected sack and massacre took place, marched from the city in solemn procession, each bearing her husband on her back.

Leopold of Austria died, October 18, 1141; and in the following May, at Frankfort, a general accommodation was patched up. Saxony remained to Henry, son of Henry the Proud. Bavaria fell to the brother of the dead Leopold, Henry 'Jasomirgott,' who succeeded him in Austria also, and cemented his power in Bavaria by wedding Gertrude, widow of Henry the Proud. But the period of rest was of short duration; for the hierarchical party sought to use the new duke for their own ends, and thereby gave rise to new complications.

Meanwhile changes had taken place in Italy. The death of Anacletus, in January, 1138, made an end of the schism, and enabled

<sup>1</sup> Waiblingen, in Swabia, was the birthplace of Duke Frederick, Conrad's brother. These names, corrupted by the Italians into Guelph (Guelph) and Ghibelline, were afterwards attached to the parties, respectively, of the popes and of the emperors. — Ed.

Innocent II. to come back, as undisputed head of the church, to Rome. That the anti-pope's adherents submitted to him, and returned to the bosom of the church, is to be attributed mainly to the labors of St. Bernard, who, more than Innocent himself, was the champion of the high-church cause. But this party overestimated its strength. In the flush of triumph over the schismatics, it believed it could crush their protector, Roger the Norman, also. In 1139 Innocent marched forth against him, but was surrounded at San Germano, and compelled to a humiliating peace, by which he bound himself not only to surrender Campania as far as the Garigliano, but also to recognize the kingship of Roger, and make good to him what Anacletus had promised as the price of his protection. From this undesirable relation Conrad thought to free the Curia by appearing in Italy in person, and relegating the Normans to their proper bounds. With this view he entered into an alliance with the Greek empire, but the ever-recurring disorders in his own realm continually intervened to prevent the accomplishment of his purpose. The Saxons, meanwhile, were going their own way. Their young duke, Henry, in alliance with the Count of Holstein, Adolphus of Schaumburg, took the work of the missions, and of colonization in the Slavic border lands, out of the hands of the Premonstratensians and Cistercians, and carried it forward solely with worldly ends in view. Furthermore, the Welfs stood in decided antagonism to the policy of the king, which was carried out in ever greater dependence on the church, and more and more exclusively on church principles. This was in harmony with the high-church tendency of the time, which found its exponent in St. Bernard. His ideal was the transformation of human society into a vast monastic aggregation, with the total subordination of the state to the church; in this way only could iniquity be checked, and the redemption and reformation of the individual and humanity be made possible. His was a conception, which, after the convulsions of the age, seemed to innumerable peace-seeking souls to open the only way to salvation, and which was accordingly seized upon with enthusiasm. The church, notwithstanding her own utter powerlessness, had to thank this disposition of the age for a new, almost absolute, influence, that inspired her with a feeling of unlimited capabilities, and led her to believe in the near realization of her ideal, — a world-empire under the pope.

Conrad's participation in the disastrous Second Crusade (1147–1149) seriously weakened his power. Scarcely had he come back

to Germany when he found Duke Welf VI. again in arms. At Flochberg, the duke was encountered and defeated by Conrad's son and heir apparent, the youthful King Henry. A peace effected through the mediation of the young Swabian duke, Frederick III., was of short duration; for Henry of Saxony, whose strength and confidence had been much increased by his fortunate conflicts with the Slavs, sallied out from his home-lands for an inroad into Bavaria. Conrad, on hearing the news, supported by Albert the Bear, burst, in 1157, into the Guelfic dukedom, and laid siege to Brunswick, whence the unlooked-for return of Henry the Lion induced him to withdraw, with all speed, to South Germany. His prestige suffered by this retreat; and his last years were clouded by strifes and disorders, which he was powerless to repress. Worst of all was the death of his promising son, King Henry. More and more he became persuaded of the untenability of the course pursued by him in the ill-rewarded service of the church, and of the necessity for a complete change. But to carry this out was not to be granted to him. His powers, physical and mental, were exhausted. When he felt death near, he recommended, as his successor, not his younger son, Frederick, but his nephew, Duke Frederick of Swabia, who, from his natural capacity and his position, seemed to be the man to restore internal peace to the realm, and to maintain its rights as well against hostile neighbors as against an arrogant though effete hierarchy. It was the best that Conrad ever did for his land and people; and, having done it, he died at Bamberg, February 25, 1152, finding a resting-place in its cathedral beside Henry II.

## CHAPTER V.

### FRANCE AND ENGLAND FROM THE END OF THE TENTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

THE deposition of Charles the Fat, and the elevation of Arnulf of Carinthia to the East-Frankish throne, resulted in the final separation of the Carolingian empire into two parts,—an eastern and a western, a German and a Romance. Much more speedily did the Teutonic races in the former division coalesce into a national confederacy than did the heterogeneous elements (Figs. 15–20)<sup>1</sup>

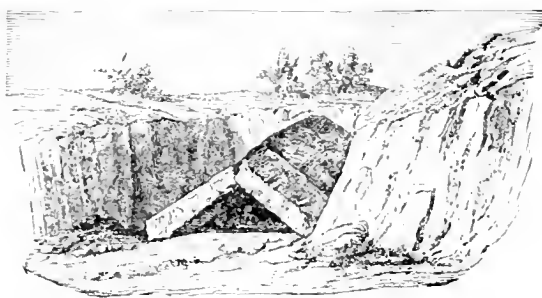


FIG. 15. — Celtic grave at Herouval (Eure), about three feet below the surface of the ground. It consists of six flagstones, three of which are propped against three others in such wise as to make a sloping roof with ridge. In the space below six skeletons were found (1839).

in the latter become fused into the French people. But as regards progress and civilization the latter had much the start: for their culture was really a survival of that of Rome, while the Teutons had to reclaim the regions in which they settled in large measure from a state of nature. Thus at the time when the growing German nation had to lay the foundations of its material existence with constant toil, its western neighbors were, in spite of internal disorganization and sore trials from without, already in a situation to devote themselves also to higher spiritual and intellectual interests.

<sup>1</sup> In Figs. 15–20 are illustrated various Celtic monuments from different parts of France. They are taken from Gaillhabaud



FIG. 16. — Dolmen (G'eltic = 'stone-table') at Locmariaquer, in Brittany, called 'table de César,' 'table des marchands,' or 'Dolvarehant.' The flat stone is about 28 ft. long, 13 ft. wide, and 3 ft. thick, and rests upon the tops of three other stones. The longer axis runs east and west. The under surface was once covered with sculptures, which have been effaced. The dolmen had a religious significance. They were probably sacrificial altars, whose upper surface, often made concave, received the blood of victims, including human beings.

The French people was evolved, as has been said, out of exceedingly dissimilar elements. Its original stock consisted of the Romanized Celtic population of ancient Gaul (Gallo-Romans), over which a German layer of varying thickness had been superimposed by the Frankish conquest. This layer was deepest in the north-



FIG. 17. — Celtic grave-mounds (tumuli) at Tirlennot in Belgium. These mounds, which are of various sizes, and are composed of earth or of small stones heaped up, are found either isolated, in groups, or, as here, in rows. They are probably not earlier than the second century. They were used either as individual or as collective graves, — hence their varying sizes, — and in some cases are provided with passage-ways and chambers, which point to their use as family graves. The bones of the dead found in them, sometimes giving evidence of cremation, are usually carefully arranged, though according to various systems. Sometimes these mounds appear to be of the nature of monuments, and this had its effect upon their size. Sometimes they were used as places for proclaiming the laws or executing legal decisions.

eastern regions, first subjugated by the Teutons, and thinned off more and more as it neared the south and west. To this corresponded the proportions in which the constituent elements — Roman and German — were represented in the resultant peoples. These



were found most equally blended in the district of the Marne and the Seine, where the distinction between the vanquished Romans

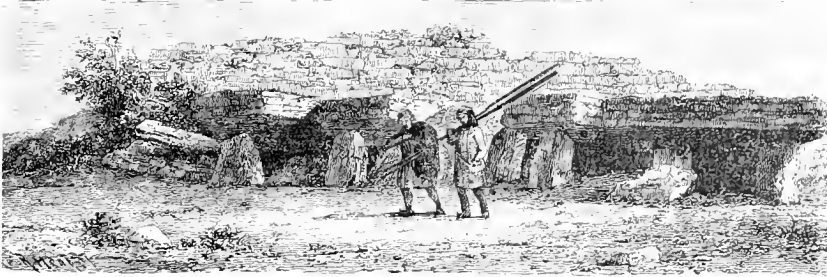


FIG. 18. — The '*pierres plates*' at Locmariaquer, on the Gulf of Morbihan, are a sort of passage-way, whose length is about 70 ft., depth 11 ft., and height nearly 6 ft. At the southern part it empties into a small room, the roof of which consists of a single flagstone. The entrance is from the north, on the side of the sea. Five of the stones which were once supporting members were formerly covered on their inner side with figures, whose purport is unknown. Such covered passage-ways, which usually terminate in a circular or quadrangular chamber, are called '*Fairies' grottoes*' by the natives, and probably were religious in character.

and the conquering Franks ultimately almost entirely disappeared, the two coalescing to form a new race. This district, therefore, constituted the centre of gravity of the nation, — Francia, the later Isle

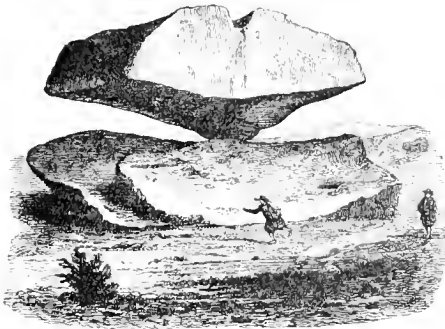


FIG. 19. — The '*rocking-stone*' at Perros-Guyrech (Côtes-du-Nord), 46 ft. long, and 23 ft. thick, is the largest of its kind. It is poised upon a larger stone, which lies flat on the ground, and, though it weighs over five hundred tons, can be made to rock by a slight push. The upper surface is hollow, and from it a channel runs to the edge, probably the work of man.

de France, — around whose chiefs the neighbor tribes tended more and more to concentrate themselves. There was still another element of a more foreign character, consisting of considerable rem-



FIG. 20. — The stones of Kervarieau, Druid memorials near Carnac in the Department of Morbihan (Lower Brittany). The cut shows a part of the very large number of Druid remains at Carnac. (*Carn* in Celtic means 'stone'). These consist of about 1200 rough granite obelisks set in the ground; the tallest are about 23 ft. high, many are about 12 ft., while some are only from 3 to 6 ft. high. The heaviest are estimated to weigh about forty tons. They are in colonnades, which are either parallel to each other, or intersect each other at right angles. On their southern side lies a conical tumulus about 65 feet high, in which, in excavations made in 1862, a chamber was discovered containing human remains and objects of the Celtic period. The purpose of this collection of monumental stones is not known.

nants of the early populations whose countries, by their isolation, were little affected by the culture of Rome, — in the west the Bretons, and in the south the Iberian mountaineers. To these stocks were shortly added, as we shall see, the Scandinavian Northmen.

Much more intricate than that in Germany was the disintegration that, in the West-Frankish kingdom, set in at the close of the ninth century. Here, in consequence of the rapid development of the fendal system, the dukes, counts, and other nobles, nominally subject to the king, attained a position of independence in their re-

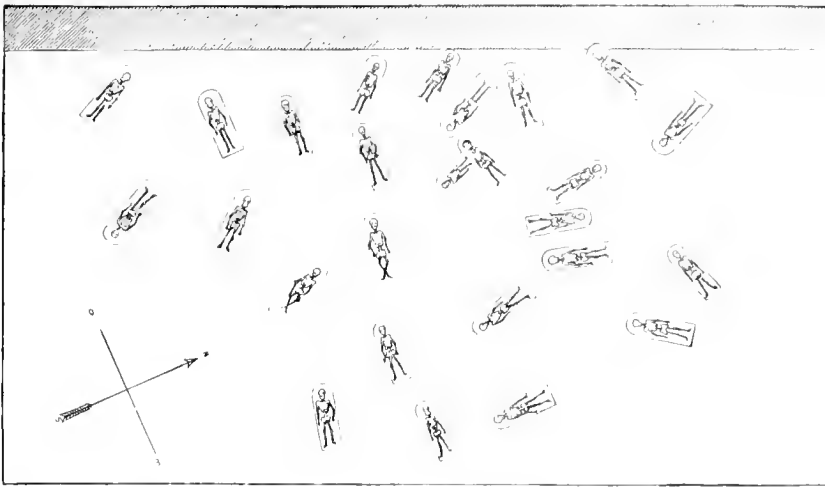


FIG. 21. — Plan of a Gallic cemetery at Sonsois (Marne). This burying-ground, as is usually the case in ancient burying-grounds, lies on the slope of a hill near a roadway. It is about 65 ft. long, and 40 ft. wide, and contains twenty-six graves, which lie about four feet below the surface, and are, on the average, 6½ ft. long by 2½ ft. wide. With the skeletons, which lie on the ground in a horizontal position, were found lances, swords, finger-rings, and bracelets, etc.

spective territories, and brought even the church, with its rich possessions, within their power. The result was a constant state of devastating feuds, in which the citizens and country people suffered terribly, and which at last threatened to make an end of all social order. Even the honored defender of Paris against the Normans, Eudes, or Odo (888–898), whom a section of the West-Frankish nobles raised to the throne in place of Charles the Fat, was powerless against it. Neither Alan of Brittany nor Count Rammulf of Aquitaine was subject to the West-Frankish sovereign. Upper and

Lower Burgundy remained lost. The Norman inroads continued unabated: and at length, in 893, the Archbishop of Rheims, with his followers, set up the last scion of the West-Frankish Carolingians, Charles the Simple (Fig. 22), the posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, as anti-king. Duke Rollo gathered up the separate Norman bands, and, issuing from Rouen, spread rapine and homicide as far as Auvergne. In 912 Charles the Simple (898-929) concluded a treaty with him, according to which Rollo — now called Robert — accepted Christianity, and married a daughter of Charles, receiving as her dowry the dukedom of the Lower Seine on condition of his holding it as a march against the Bretons. In more than one respect this agreement proved highly useful. The land ceded to the Normans had long been practically in their hands, and could not be legitimately regarded as a possession of the West-Frankish king. At a low price, therefore, he converted these rovers, so terrible as foes, into allies, who in the course of the next generation made Brittany

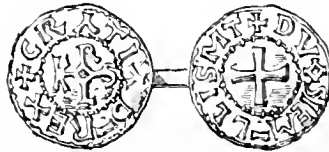


FIG. 22. — Coin of Charles the Simple. Obv. : Monogram for KAROLVS. Legend : †GRATIAD-REX. Rev. : Cross. Legend : †DVOS IEM-LLISMT. (From de Witt.)

also an integral part of the realm. \* Above all, these warlike sons of the north manifested a remarkable aptitude for culture. Once rendered sedentary, and reduced by Robert's iron hand to order, they acquired, in a wonderfully short time, the habits, speech, and civilization of the Franks, and, on the basis of their own native strength, developed the peculiar traits of the then evolving French people so early and so sharply that they exercised the dominant influence in determining the characteristics of the future nation. In particular, they moulded the feudal system in accord with their hereditary military organization, and raised it into a power of hitherto unknown efficacy. The monarchy, it must be confessed, at first derived no gain from the alliance.

Nearly the entire tenth century was a period of interminable civil war, during which the authority of the nominal monarch grew steadily more shadowy. Charles the Simple was opposed by anti-kings, Duke Robert of Francia, and (from 923) Rudolf of Bur-

gundy, who, from Charles's death in 929 to his own in 936, possessed the empty honor undisputed. He was succeeded by the son of Charles the Simple, Louis d'Outremer ('from beyond seas'), so called because his mother, Edwina, fled with him for safety to her brother, Athelstan king of England, when he was three years old. The most powerful nobles of his reign were Hugh (Hugo) the

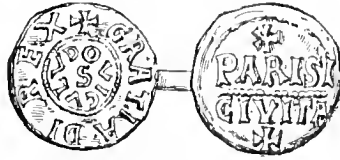


FIG. 23. — Coin of Louis IV. d'Outremer. Obv.: Centre, LVDOVICVS in a circle. Legend: GRATIA DI REX. Rev.: Between two crosses. PARISI CIVITA in two lines. Silver denarius. (From de Witt.)

White, or the Great, of Francia, William Longsword of Normandy, and Count Herbert of Vermandois. Louis (Fig. 23) was succeeded by his son Lothair (954–986), who possessed little power. With his son and successor, Louis V. le Fainéant (986–987), the direct line of Charlemagne became extinct. His authority extended over only the city of Laon and its immediate neighborhood. Passing by Louis's uncle, Duke Charles of Lower Lorraine, the nobles, assembled at Noyon, bestowed the crown on the powerful son of Hugh the White, Duke Hugh of Francia, better known to English readers as Hugh Capet. He was anointed and crowned at Rheims, and estab-



FIG. 24. — Coin of Hugh Capet. Obv.: Monogram for HUGO. Legend: + GRATIA DI DVX. Rev.: Between two crosses. PARISI CIVITA in two lines. Silver. (From de Witt.)

lished his capital at Paris. Here many historians locate the point of transition from the West-Frankish kingdom to the modern kingdom of France. The transition of the sovereignty from the outworn and now unworthy Carolingian house to that of the Capets (Fig. 24) was accomplished, and found universal recognition.

At first, indeed, little alteration was to be noted. From the utter impotency of the last Carolingians, the conquest of the crown

imported for the Capets accession neither of territory nor of authority. But the rich possessions which this race had in the course of years accumulated came in good stead to the monarchy, enabling it to exercise its functions with more power and effect. On the dukedom of Francia there were dependent the counties of Anjou (surpassing all others in extent and importance), Touraine, Blois, Chartres, Gatinais, Maine, and Senlis; while those of Paris, Étampes, Melun, and Orleans were its peculiar property. No other of the French dynasties commanded so stately a feudal army as its lord. This was of high practical importance at this moment from the peculiar development of the feudal system in France. While in Germany the homage incident on the feudal relation was soon looked on as a formality devoid of earnest import, in France men regarded it as a symbol of great political value. Through ecclesiastical unction and coronation, the French king received a consecration that elevated him far above potentates, equalling him in power, while it imposed on them certain moral obligations that they could not with impunity violate. To the sovereign, as the anointed of the Lord, they were bound by a tie sanctioned by the church. To break their oath of allegiance to him, therefore, was to fail to the church as well, and to invoke the Divine vengeance. And, as the king stood at the head of the whole feudal organization, and the sub-tenants recognized in him the suzerain of their own immediate superiors, disloyalty to him involved disloyalty to them, and must be expiated accordingly.

This conception endowed the French king, notwithstanding the narrow limits of his immediate possessions, with a very high authority; since the feudal contract had, through the mediation of the church, become rooted in the moral law. As guardian of feudal loyalty, over which the supreme feudal court, of which he was president, watched, the king gradually acquired an authority distinct in character from that of the other great feudal potentates. This tendency was furthered by the early cessation of the right of election belonging to the magnates, which the Capets ultimately abrogated altogether, each king adopting his eldest son as co-regent, and having him crowned as such. This practice easily led to his assuming the sovereignty on his father's death without further formality, the homage tendered by the nobles being the only surviving reminiscence of their ancient prerogative. This policy of the Capets, consistently pursued, converted France imperceptibly into a hereditary monarchy, and

conferred on royalty a stability and increasing efficacy, by creating a community of interest between the ruling house and the nation such as Germany never knew.

Of no less importance for the moulding of the French constitution was the position assumed by the church. Ecclesiastical lordships, such as those of Germany, France never knew, only isolated prelates, as those of Rheims, Laon, Langres, Beauvais, and Châlons, having baronial rights and obligations in a part of their dioceses. All the others, richly endowed as they might be, were politically dependent on the monarchy. In the domains immediately subject to the crown, the king; in the great crown fiefs, the territorial landlords,—named the bishops, and had the disposition of the military and financial resources of the appertaining benefices. For this reason France played no immediate part in the great war of the investiture. There a kind of middle course was taken in this matter,—one which was satisfactory to both church and state, and the more acceptable to the Roman Curia, from the fact that the French monarchy was her best mainstay against Germany. When a bishopric became vacant, the chapter, on receiving the royal assent, elected a new head, who, after consecration, attended at court to be invested with the temporalities of the see. Here, therefore, there was absent that antagonism to the crown into which the German episcopate so easily fell by its great secular interests. Lacking the rights and claims of the temporal nobility, the French church in consequence generally stood by the monarchy in the great internal crises.

The position of the French clergy was certainly both more natural and sounder than that of the German and Burgundian. It saved them from being immersed in worldly affairs, and enabled them to devote themselves, without distraction, to their proper calling. The German church, from the tenth to the twelfth century, produced excellent administrators and influential statesmen, but scarcely one who exercised an epoch-making influence on the spiritual life of his age, such as was exerted by a whole series of French churchmen. The various reform movements, which constituted the turning-points in the history of the mediæval church, had their origin, without exception, in France. The Cluniacs, Premonstratensians, and Cistercians, had their birthplace here; and the theology of the age hence received its decisive impulse, and the forms in which it was definitely embodied. In Paris scholasticism was formulated into the system which for centuries exercised a dominating influence on the



FIG. 25. Statue of Robert, Duke of Normandy (?). In Gloucester Cathedral. (From Stothard.)

intellectual life of the West. There lay its spiritual capital, whose theologians were the guardians of orthodoxy, but where at the same time freer modes of thought first found bold expression. Instead of forcibly directing and interfering with the natural development of the country, and trying to compel it into a determined direction (like some German monarchs), the Capets were content to follow the trend of the national current in church and state, gaining thereby in both political importance and moral authority.

The successor of Hugh Capet was his son Robert (996–1031). Trained under Gerbert of Rheims, literature and the church had greater attractions for him than the feuds and quarrels that then filled France with the din of arms. Through his arbitrary dissolution of his first marriage, and his espousal of Bertha of Burgundy, which the church disallowed on account of the kinship of the parties, he came into violent collision with the Curia, and had ultimately to bow to the sentence of Gregory V. He was succeeded by his third son, Henry I. (1031–1066), till then lord of the duchy of Burgundy, which he now made over to his younger



brother, Robert. Nevertheless, the latter rose in rebellion against him, with the object of gaining the crown for himself. Henry, compelled to flee from the land, won back the crown by the help of Duke Robert of Normandy (Fig. 25), — who was called the ‘Devil,’ as being suspected of the murder of his brother, and who subsequently died when on a penitential pilgrimage to the Holy Land, — and held his own in manifold conflicts with the rebellious nobles.

Philip I. (1060–1108), son of Henry, at first guided by the efficient regent, Count Baldwin of Flanders, fell later into evil ways, which led to a severe conflict with the hierarchical papacy. After twenty years of married life he had, on the most frivolous pretexts, repudiated his wife Bertha, daughter of Robert the Friesian, the powerful count of Holland and Flanders, and father-in-law of William of Normandy, and shut her up in a nunnery while he married the beautiful Bertrade, spouse of the rich Count Fulk of Anjou. To the admonitions of the clergy he bade defiance; even the ban pronounced by an assembly of French bishops made no impression on him. Then Urban II. himself came to France in 1095, and renewed the anathema at the Council of Clermont, — the same council which decreed the arming of Christendom for the liberation of the Holy Land. Philip (Fig. 26) now professed submission, but shortly thereafter Bertrade returned to his palace, and was honored as queen to her death.

Better days came with Philip’s son, Louis VI. (1108–1137). After securing, through the aid of the church, the succession, from which the great lords wished to exclude him, he entered with determined rigor on a war with the devastating feudal system, which under his father had threatened to gain the upper hand. Part of the nobles took up arms against him. With the help of the rebels, his step-mother, Bertrade, tried to get the crown for one of her sons by Philip. Besides, there broke out a war of several years’ duration with Henry I. of England. Ultimately a peace was mediated by Pope Calixtus II. The king believed he was opening the most brilliant prospects for France when he married his already crowned and consecrated son, Louis, to the richest heiress in the kingdom, the beautiful and hot-blooded Eleanor, daughter of the late Duke



FIG. 26. — Bracteate of King Philip. (From Essenwein.)



FIG. 27. — Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Maine and Anjou. Died 1149. Burial plate, in enamel-work. Formerly in the Cathedral of St. Julien at Le Mans, now at the Le Mans Museum. (From Stothard.)

William X. of Aquitaine. She brought her husband the expectancy of the rich domains south of the Loire, — Guienne, Poitou, and Gascony. Ultimately the marriage was the source of endless wars and severest tribulations. For while Louis VII. (1137–1180), counselled by the able Suger, abbot of St. Denis, continued the domestic policy of his predecessor, and found in the great cities support against the great vassals and the prelates, and in external politics strove to weaken Germany through close alliance with the hierarchical papacy, the frivolity of Eleanor, who accompanied him on the Second Crusade, led to the dissolution of their marriage, which was, besides, impeached by the church on account of kinship. The renunciation by Louis of the rich possessions she brought him was an act of the highest honor, indeed, but none the less a great political mistake. For as Eleanor thereafter married Henry of Anjou, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England, and widow of the emperor Henry V., her new husband, who already laid claim to the English crown, became master of her rich domains. Their speedy unification with Normandy and England threatened the French monarchy with utter impotence. The elevation of the house of Plantagenet (Fig. 27) to the throne of England won for that country, for more than a generation, the leading position in Western Europe.

In a heroic national struggle, Alfred the Great had defended the foundations of the Anglo-Saxon state against the onsets of the piratical Scandinavian Northmen. His successors were neither so able nor so successful, and could not ward off the renewed Danish attempts. Alfred's son, Edward 'the Elder' (901–924), secured his father's successes by building forts along the frontier, while Athelstan, Edward's son and successor, won, in 937, a glorious victory at Brunanburh, over the allied Danes and Scots, and reduced the insurgent Northumbrians to submission. These, however, were first permanently subjugated by Athelstan's successors, his younger brothers Edmund (941–946) and Edred (946–955). Then followed a period of rapid decadence, during which the conquests of Alfred were, one after the other, lost. Edred's successor, Edwin (955–959), the son of Edmund, became, in consequence of a scandalous love-affair, involved in a bitter conflict with the Anglo-Saxon church, which made use of the king's personal foibles to humble the monarchy, the hierarchical party, under the leading of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, carrying



FIG. 28.    King Edgar.    Painting on a purple ground, in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the tenth century, representing a donation made by the king to the bishopric of Winchester (966).    British Museum.    (From Westwood)

the quarrel into the domain of politics. In a riot provoked by them, the king was slain, and was succeeded by his brother, Edgar (959–975, Fig. 28). Brave and fortunate in his fights with the Irish and Danes, he was of dissolute habits, and, in pursuit of his gallantries, left the administration of the church and state to the men to whom he owed the crown, above all, to Dunstan, now archbishop of Canterbury. Edgar's death and the minority of his son Edward 'the Martyr' (975–978) gave the rule entirely into the hands of the churchmen, which called forth so violent an opposition that the land was torn by embittered party feuds. At the instigation of his stepmother, Elfrida, Edward was murdered, and his stepbrother, Aethelred II., 'the Unready' (978–1016), raised to the throne. His reign of nearly forty years resulted in the deep abasement of the kingdom, especially after the death of Dunstan, in 988, when the young king lost his self-seeking, but strong-minded, guide. The domestic commotions of the time induced renewed inroads of the Danes, against whom the Anglo-Saxons were no longer able to hold their own, but had recourse to ignominious payment of tribute to buy off their insolent oppressors, only to be exposed to constantly renewed claims. Soon a permanent tax, the 'Danegeld,' or Dane-money, was imposed on the land, to satisfy the demands for blackmail. The coast districts fell into the hands of the invaders, who through rapine, extortions, and maltreatment of all kinds, drove the unfortunate natives to the last extremity. At last a secretly preconcerted rising took place everywhere on the same day, by which the foreigners were surprised and murderously slaughtered, mercy being shown to neither men, women, nor children. This massacre on St. Brice's Day (November 13), 1002, hastened the doom of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. For, in revenge, the Danes fell furiously upon the Anglo-Saxons, who, torn by party feuds, and impoverished through the 'Danegeld,' were utterly incapable of effective resistance. Thus, in 1013, the Danish king, Sweyn, was able to accomplish the conquest of the land, the most of its nobles purchasing his favor by doing him homage. Aethelred fled to Normandy, whose duke, William, had given him his sister Emma in marriage. Aethelred's attempt to recover his kingdom on Sweyn's sudden death, in 1014, was frustrated by the latter's great son, Canute (Cnut). Aethelred himself died of a broken heart, in 1016. His son, Edmund Ironsides, the bravest and best of the English kings since Alfred, fought six great battles against the invaders in seven months, and then con-

sented to a division of the kingdom. When he, too, died, in 1016, Canute was recognized as sovereign of all the land.

King Canute, 'the Great' (1016-1035), who united the crowns of Denmark and Norway with that of England, is one of the foremost sovereigns of the Middle Ages. At the head of a barbarous pirate-people, he fully appreciated the blessing of civilized culture; reared in heathenism, he recognized in Christianity the mistress of the future. His purpose was to redeem the Northmen from barbarism, through both influences. He accepted Christianity, therefore, and in 1026 made a pilgrimage to Rome, striving in every way to



FIG. 29. — Seal of Edward the Confessor. Legend: SIGILLVM EADVVARDI ANGLORVM BASILEI †. (From an impression in the British Museum.)

assuage the mutual hatred of the English and the Danes, and to accustom them to live side by side in peace. For these ends were required an earnest will, a firm but not ungentle hand, and impartial strictness in dealing with both peoples. All this Canute possessed in abundant measure, so that even the Anglo-Saxons accommodated themselves to their fate, and enjoyed the peace and order which the Danish rule — rigorous but just — secured them. By marrying Aethelred's widow, the Norman Emma, he thought to pave the way for the reconciliation of all national difficulties. But even from this there arose new misfortunes.

For when Canute, in 1035, succumbed to an early death, there at once appeared a triple schism in the kingdom. Not only did the Anglo-Saxons proclaim Aethelred's son Edward king (Fig. 29), but the Danes themselves were divided. One party made Canute's eldest son, Harold, king; the other, the boy that Emma had borne him. Through Harold's sudden death, the latter (Hardicanute) received the recognition of all the Danes, but undermined his authority by tyranny. His death, in 1042, left Edward undisputed monarch. But Edward was not only in heart a narrow-minded



FIG. 30. — Harold giving his oath to William the Conqueror. From the Bayeux tapestry, eleventh century. In the cathedral at Bayeux, Normandy. (From F. R. Fowke.)

bigot, by nature designed rather for a monk than the prince of a warlike people, but he was also, in consequence of having been brought up in Normandy, alienated from the English population, and attached to Norman-French customs, which he tried to enforce in his court. He even endeavored to rob the native church of its national character by elevating Norman clerics to its highest positions. Not till 1052 was a stop put to this dangerous practice, when a rising, under Duke Godwin of Wessex, relegated Edward, on whom his churchly friends had conferred the equivocal title of 'the Confessor,' to complete insignificance. How much Edward's

weak and unpopular rule had alienated the Anglo-Saxon people from their royal house was shown on his death, in 1066. Not Edgar Aetheling, the son of Aethelred's brave son Edmund, and the last scion of the legitimate house, was called to the throne, but Harold, son of the leader of the opposition to 'the Confessor.'

Harold saw himself surrounded on all sides by perils. In the north his brother Tostig rose against him, supported by the terrible Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, with an immense army and fleet.



FIG. 31. — Seal of William the Conqueror. Obverse. (From an impression in the British Museum.)

The higher clergy, who during Edward's reign had become denationalized under Roman and Norman influences, were more or less openly hostile. But Harold's most dangerous enemy was Duke William of Normandy, who claimed the throne on the score of his wife's relationship to the royal house, and declared that Harold had sworn to support his claims (Fig. 30). The papacy saw here a brilliant opportunity for asserting its power over all temporal domains and sovereignties. Pope Alexander II. sent Duke William a consecrated banner, and commissioned him to conquer the contumacious Anglo-Saxons, while the church cursed Harold as a usurper.



While all the penniless adventurers of western Europe gathered in Normandy in response to the summons of William and the pope, Harold defeated and slew his Norwegian namesake at Stamford Bridge, near York. Almost immediately he learned that William and his army had landed unopposed at Pevensey, while the levies of the southern shires were dispersed for the harvest. Hurrying southward, Harold took up a strong position in front of the enemy at Senlac, near Hastings, in Sussex. There the decisive battle was fought,



FIG. 32. — Seal of William the Conqueror. Reverse. (From an impression in the British Museum.)

on the 14th of October, 1066. The English, whose strength was in their yeoman infantry, defended themselves with great courage behind their wall of shields until the Norman knights drew them out by a feigned retreat. Then the mailed horsemen turned upon them, and cut them down by thousands. Harold fell, pierced through the eye by an arrow. The remnants of his host, after a stubborn resistance, dispersed under cover of night.

The battle of Hastings was for the Anglo-Saxons a national catastrophe.

Much more ruthlessly than in the days of Canute, did all the hor-

rors and humiliations of alien sovereignty burst upon the heads of the conquered natives. Both church and state were ruthlessly made Norman: *i.e.*, Romanized. Repeated risings and embittered resistance in the northern counties only aggravated the sufferings of the victims. Norman clerics received the bishoprics and abbeys, at their head the Lombard Lanfranc, who was made archbishop of Canterbury. The Anglo-Saxon tongue was no longer permitted to be used in divine service, and the usages peculiar to the ancient native church gave way to the Romish ceremonial. More radical still was the revolution in the land-law and in the politico-military organization of the state based thereon. For though William (Figs. 31, 32) had himself crowned at Westminster in 1066, and again in 1068, in York, rather as Edward's successor than as 'the conqueror,' he made unscrupulous use of his rights in the latter character, in regard to the land and its people. All the crown demesnes, as well as the possessions of Harold and of the Anglo-Saxon nobility who fell at Hastings, he seized as his own by right of conquest, and distributed in fee to his Norman associates, receiving their pledges of fealty in return. In exactly the same way the lands left in the hands of their English owners and the church were used for military purposes. The feudatory so invested (enfeoffed) who re-parcelled his fee, had to hold his sub-vassals bound to corresponding duties, so that practically the whole land of the country was held subject to military service; and at the summons of the feudal host, every occupier, immediate or mediate — the latter without regard to his next superior — had to follow the king to the field. Clear as the principle is, the records do not distinctly enlighten us in regard to the form in which it must have been carried out in individual cases. The famed Domesday Book gives us a view of the land-relations of England as they shaped themselves some twenty years after the Conquest. In the partition of the land, in 1085-1086, into knight's fees, not only was the arable land valued, but every source of profit associated with it — as wood, meadow, pasture, etc., — was taken into account; and in accordance with this valuation the services of 'shields' (warriors), and the amount of tax to be imposed on each fief, was determined. In like manner all available property of every description, as oxen and other farm-stock, was valued, and rated accordingly. A knight's fee, therefore, in Norman England, represented, not a determinate amount of land, but a property which yielded its owner — whether

in produce, or money, or in the service of the villeins and serfs attached to it — a yearly income, at first of fifteen pounds of silver, later, of twenty; and from which, on pain of confiscation, a lance must be placed at the king's service for forty days free of charge.

Thus England became a military feudal state based on the most exact valuation of every source of income, in which the Norman knighthood and the conforming Anglo-Saxon magnates stood, as the dominant warrior-caste, in strong contrast to the great mass of the subjugated natives doomed to hard servitude. It was one great army distributed according to land-tenure. At the head of all stood the king, entirely independent through the great demesnes reserved for him, and surrounded by a brilliant court. Then came the crown vassals, spiritual and lay, of whom the most liberally endowed held rich fiefs in various counties, below whom were 8000 nobles, sub-feudatories of these great vassals. All the rest of the population, even the personally free, stood outside of this strictly exclusive feudal order, were attached to the several knightly fees, and, in case of a general levy, bound to support their superiors in the field, either by personal service or with money. This gave a warlike strength at that time unparalleled. The administration of the judiciary was still based on the old Anglo-Saxon principles, but was permeated by a rigid spirit of discipline and order, while the administration of the finances and the police arrangements for the prevention and punishment of crime were characterized by an exactness and a sternness of severity hitherto unknown in mediæval times. In these respects the execution of the laws rested essentially on the sheriffs set over each county, who, themselves held severely to account, exercised a correspondingly strict supervision over the officers subordinate to them. It was with a sullen feeling of resentment that the native English, mindful of their old comparative freedom, submitted to this novel system of iron austerity; and generations elapsed before any step was taken towards alleviating the bitterness of their hate towards their arrogant victors.

On December 7, 1087, William the Conqueror died. Quarrels within the royal house straightway broke out, further to complicate the relations of the nationalities comprised in the kingdom. The Conqueror had made a testamentary disposition of his domains, by which Normandy — which he regarded as the chief and ancestral land of the race — was to fall to his elder son Robert, and England to the younger, William Rufus. But the Norman barons, who de-

sired to gain still further profit from England, objected to this separation. With the view of maintaining himself, therefore, William II. sought to conciliate the English by promising to redress the abuses imposed on them by his father. But all this came to an end so soon as he had no longer to dread the opposition of the nobles. The church, especially, had to complain of his gross maladministration; and even the admonitions of the noble Anselm, who succeeded William II.'s teacher, Lanfranc, in the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury (1093), affected only a temporary improvement. Notwithstanding the warlike capacity manifested by William against the Scots and Welsh, he remained the object of general hatred. Even the Normans hailed his death, on August 2, 1100, with unconcealed joy. As he left no heir, the nobles, temporal and spiritual, passing over Robert (who was absent on the Crusade), chose, with the assent of the people, the Conqueror's third son, Henry, and had him crowned at Westminster. Still more than his predecessor did Henry I. (1100-1135) stand in need of the support of both the races against his eldest brother. To win the Anglo-Saxons, he vowed to maintain the so-called laws of Edward the Confessor, and married Matilda, whose mother, Margaret, the last scion of the race of Alfred, had been the wife of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland. Robert, after his return from the east, endeavored to vindicate his birthright by force of arms, but was ultimately defeated in 1108, at Tinchebray in Normandy, and kept in honorable captivity till his death in 1134. The attempt of his son, William Clito, to win back Normandy with the help of France, proved equally abortive. The duchy remained thereafter a bone of contention to the English kings, and the scene of ever-renewed revolts, as well as of the constant internecine feuds of the nobles.

As Henry had first had to contend with his brother for the crown, so later he became embroiled with his only daughter over the succession. His son William was drowned, in 1120, on his passage to England. William's sister, Matilda, widow of the German emperor, Henry V., and now heiress of England and Normandy, married the wealthy Count Geoffrey of Anjou, and thereby not only aroused discontent among the nobles of Normandy, but fell out with her father, who justifiably hesitated to place a woman at the head of a warlike state. On these grounds Stephen, Count of Blois, son of Adela, the king's sister,—at home in England through his education at its court, and popular among its nobles for his graceful

personal qualities,—based claims to the succession. His brother (Fig. 33) was bishop of Winchester; and through his instrumentality the Roman Curia supported Stephen's candidature with such effect that within a few weeks of Henry's death he was crowned king, at the Christmas of 1135. But as, under these circumstances, it was out of his power to act with the energy of his predecessor,



FIG. 33. — Copper plaque, with enamelled work, representing Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester. From the middle of the twelfth century. British Museum.

the feudal tie soon became loosened, and it was not long before the whole order of the state was brought into question. It was not enough that the king by a more complete recognition of the Anglo-Saxon laws restored in some measure the prestige of the subdued race, but at Easter, 1139, he had to enter into obligations with the clergy (Fig. 34) and nobles that were equivalent to a supplemen-

tary election-compact. For by confirming to the church not only all her present possessions and immunities, as well as all she should acquire hereafter, and renouncing the influence hitherto conceded to the king in the appointment to high ecclesiastical offices, and promising to the nobility the abrogation of everything oppressive or unfair, and the strict observance of the good old usage, he took the first step towards the limitation of the nearly absolute monarchy that the Conqueror had created in the form of a warlike feudal state. This liberal tendency was quickened when Matilda and her

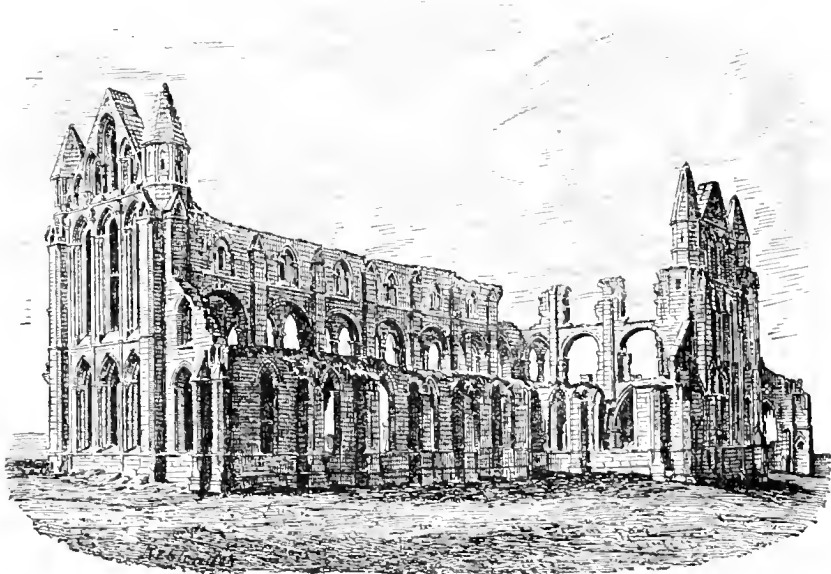


FIG. 34. — Ruins of the Abbey of St. Hilda, at Whitby in Yorkshire. Founded about 650 by Oswald, king of Northumbria, and enlarged and completed by successors of William the Conqueror. (From a photograph.)

husband rose with their adherents to assert her conjunct right to the crown, and gave the signal for a long-protracted struggle. Finally Stephen fell out with the prelates, and then victory inclined to the side of Matilda. At a battle near Lincoln, in 1141, she took her antagonist prisoner. But she speedily made numerous enemies by her ill-judged favor for Norman customs, so that Stephen, on effecting his escape, was again able to appear in the field against her. England was now for ten years the scene of a desolating civil war, which was at length brought to a close by an eventful change in the relations of the powers on the Continent. Henry, the high-

spirited and chivalrous son of Matilda, who from his cognizance (a broom-plant) bore the surname of Plantagenet, conquered Normandy; and when, on his father's death, he acquired, in addition, Anjou and Maine, and by his marriage with Eleanor of Poitou, the divorced wife of Louis VII., the greatest part of Southern France, he was in a position of such strength that Stephen despaired of longer successfully disputing his claim. When, therefore, Henry Plantagenet landed in England in the autumn of 1153, Stephen opened negotiations, resulting in a compact that he should remain king till his death, on which event his adopted son and co-regent, Henry of Anjou, should ascend the thrones of England and Normandy. Scarcely a year expired when Stephen's death, on October 25, 1154, made Henry his successor.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD, THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE, AND THE FIRST CRUSADES.

(A.D. 888-1152.)

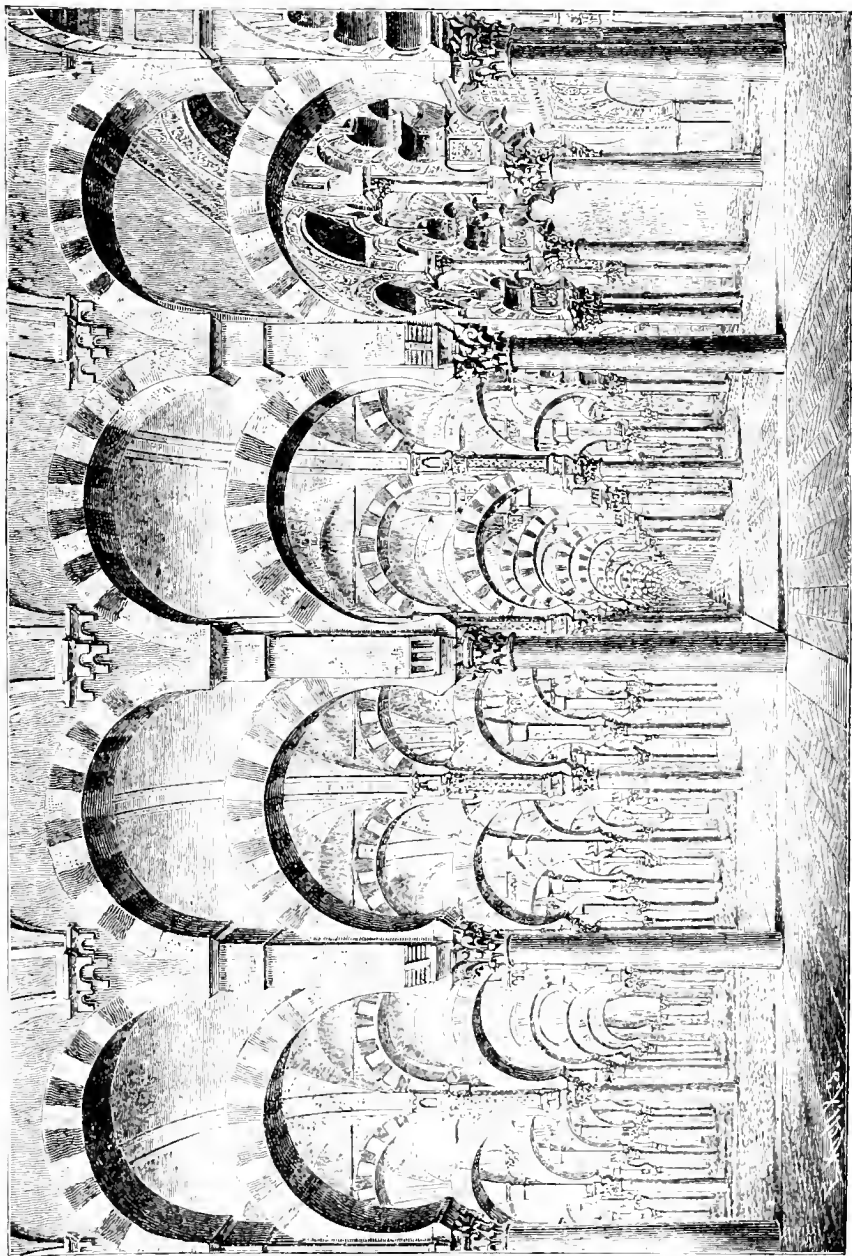
THE disintegration of the califate in the ninth and tenth centuries prepared the way for the temporary success achieved by Christendom in those great movements of Christianity against Islam known as the Crusades. As the offensive power of Mohammedanism spent itself, and unity of government was replaced by faction and internecine strife, the balance of success in an interminable warfare gradually passed from the crescent to the cross all along the contested border, from the Atlantic to Armenia. The warlike greatness of Islam was succeeded by an intellectual splendor unrivalled by the Christian nations of the age, and of very great importance for the development of their culture. This civilization, after a brief but astonishing brilliancy, was, in the East, overwhelmed by the rude vigor of the Turkish hordes from Central Asia, who, adopting the religion, despised the culture of the Arabs, and by their barbarity towards the pilgrims at Jerusalem occasioned the First Crusade.

Through the battle of Jerez de la Frontera, in 711, the greater part of Spain fell into the hands of the Arabs, and received in Abd-er-Rahman, the only Omayyad who escaped the murderous hands of Abul Abbas, a common ruler, and, in the magnificent Cordova, a political and intellectual centre. Arabic culture blossomed forth gloriously in Spain in the domain of economic life, and no less in that of intellectual activity in every department. To this day, everywhere over Spain, we come upon traces of the unwearied pains with which the Arabs, through artificial devices, sought to endow the naturally poor soil with all the conditions essential to fertility. To this day, too, matchless architectural trophies, in which originality in design vies with perfection in execution and rich inventiveness of fancy in ornamentation, testify not only to the genius for art, but to the material wealth of the





PLATE II.



Interior of the Mosque at Cordova: portion not restored. (From Gailhabaud.)  
*History of All Nations*, Vol. IV., page 403.

race who held command here. The great mosque of the Omayyads in Cordova (PLATE II.), with its pillar-masses suggestive of a palm-grove; the royal residences with their dream-like magnificence,—the Alcazar of Seville, the Azzahra of Cordova, and the Alhambra of Granada,—even in their ruins impress us with a vivid conception of the national pride, the creative art-sense, and the genial pleasure in life that filled the hearts of their creators and indwellers. At a time when in Christendom the Romanized world saw its ancient high civilization vanish amid devastating internecine struggles, and when Germany had scarce begun to address its unschooled strength to higher objects, in the califate of Cordova every form of intellectual energy was in full development, and yielding fruitage in departments scarcely recognized in the domain of Christian knowledge. Possessed of a rich national literature, the Arabs of Spain were the teachers of Western Christendom, not only in the elements of natural sciences, but also in philosophy.

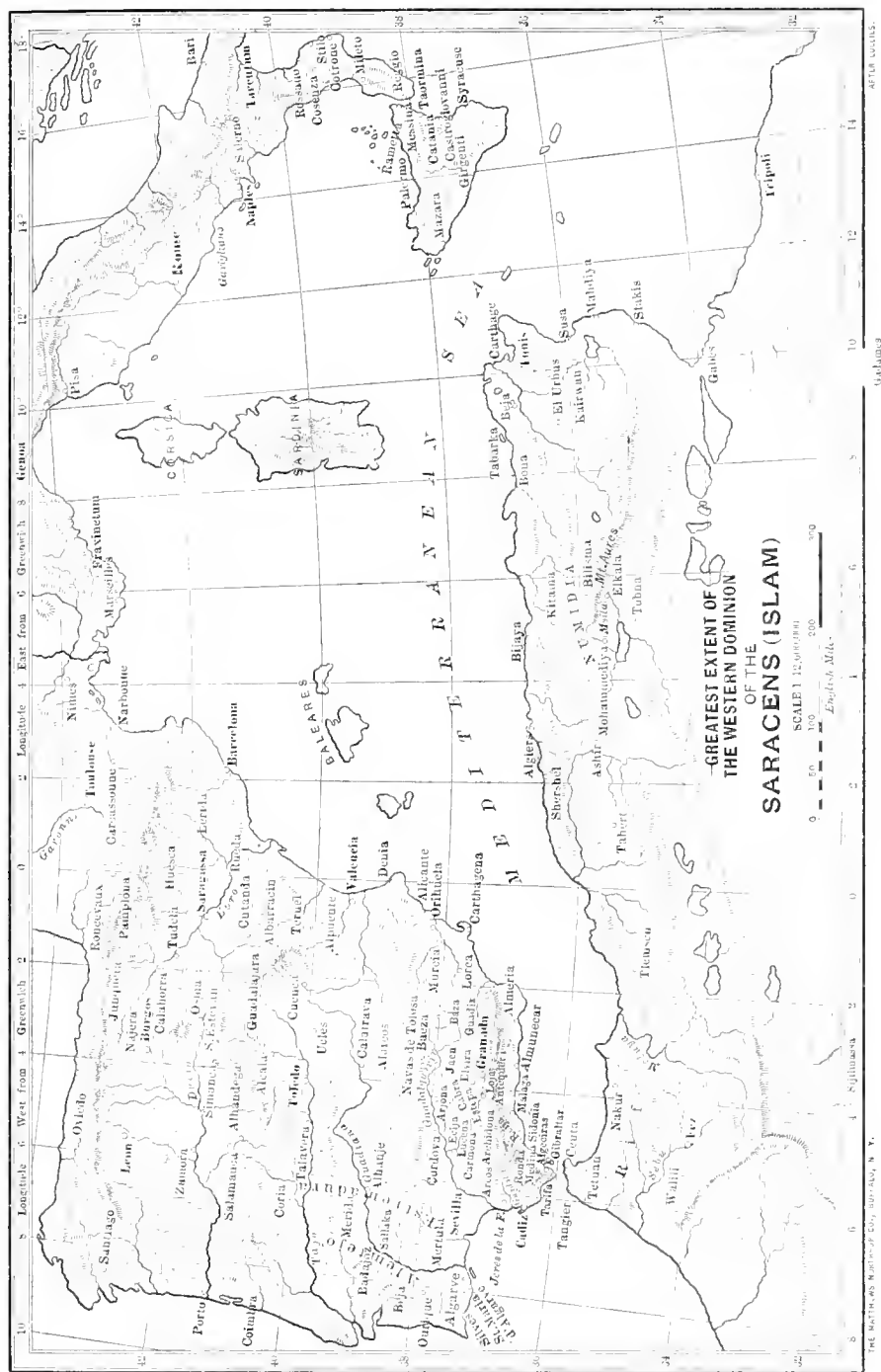
The golden age of Cordova developed under Abd-er-Rahman III. (912–961) and his son Al-hakem (961–973), the contemporaries of the first Saxon ruler. Even though we deduct largely from the enthusiastic representations that later Arabic writers make of the glories of their nation and state, we cannot but recognize the wondrous vigor of the life that pulsed through this period. In an especial manner the toleration shown by these last great califs of Cordova to their Christian and Jewish subjects, in religious as well as in civil life, extending to them full participation in the privileges of their brilliant commonwealth, redounds to their especial glory. But about the close of the tenth century a process of decay set in for Mohammedan Spain, and ran its course in the exact forms it assumed in the Bagdad Califate. The decadence of the old martial spirit in the now voluptuous and *fainéant* Omayyads, and their incapacity for rule, gave, after the days of Hashem II. (976–1013), the authority as well as the leadership in the constantly renewed wars against the Christians into the hands of the viziers, who ultimately became the real potentates in peace as well as in war, relegating the califs to utter insignificance. In the course of the risings and throne-revolutions consequent on this, the house of the Omayyads, after nearly three hundred years of sovereignty, passed ingloriously from sight. The Califate of Cordova became broken up into a number of lesser

independent states, which, not without some reflection of the old glories, had their centres in their emirs' residential cities of Cordova, Toledo, Granada (Fig. 35), Seville, Saragossa, etc. But this afterglow was of comparatively short duration. The petty states wore themselves out in endless party strifes and wars, and, in so doing, paved the way for the Christians of the northern and western provinces to make further inroads. From the middle of the eleventh century the Spanish Arabs found themselves mainly on the defensive, and were soon no longer able to ward off the assaults of the Christians, but were rapidly forced southwards.

The inaccessible mountain regions of the north of Spain had never been subject to the Arabs (PLATE III.). Under the Gothic noble Pelagius, and Duke Peter of the race of Reccared, the relics of the Visigoths there maintained their liberty and their faith. There, about the middle of the eighth century, under Pelagius's son Alfonso, who married Peter's daughter, the kingdom of Asturias, later called Leon, had its origin. A temporary tripartite division of this kingdom in the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century paralyzed the warlike energy of the Asturians, who gained no new successes till the second quarter of the latter century. Then the Counts of Castile, vassals of the king of Leon, conquered the high country between the Upper Duero and the Upper Ebro, and made themselves ultimately independent there. When they died out, in 1024, their land fell to Navarre. This province, thanks to the inaccessibility of the Western Pyrenees, had defended itself successfully, first against the Arabs, and later against the Franks. About the year 1000, in the time of King Sancho the Great (970-1035), Navarre was the most powerful of the Christian states of the peninsula. But the partition ordered by Sancho at his death weakened his kingdom: and the leading Christian powers henceforth were Aragon, in the northeast; Castile (with Leon) in the north and centre; and, from 1139, the kingdom of Portugal in the west, under a branch-line of the Capetians.

When the Califate of Cordova came to a close with the abdication of Hashem III. in 1031, and was divided into a number of petty Mohammedan states, the Christian kingdoms, sometimes united into a great confederation, continued the war against the infidels with renewed vigor. But at the close of the eleventh century the Emir of Seville called on the Almoravides — a fanatical warrior sect who had arisen in North Africa — for help against King Alfonso

# PLATE III.



Map.—Western Domain of the Saracens (Islam).



VI. of Castile and Leon. These imposed a check on the career of conquest of the Christians, but, at the same time, made themselves the lords of their protégés, on whom they laid the iron yoke of military domination. Through the Almoravides the conflict between Christians and Mohammedans assumed once more the wildly fanatical character of a war of faiths, made all the more bitter by the outbreak of the contemporary crusade movement. Passions were evolved on both sides that had, up to this time, lain dormant, and which impressed traits on the Spanish character that are peculiar to it to this day. The incarnation of chivalric devotion to the faith produced by this struggle so full of vicissitudes, later centuries celebrated in Don Rodrigo Diaz — the Cid Campeador — (‘Lord Champion’) the hero of the Castilians in their Moorish wars at the end of the eleventh century. In the middle of the twelfth century the sway of the Almoravides was supplanted by a new fanatical sect of



FIG. 35. — Arabian chandelier from the Alhambra mosque, Madrid, Archaeological Museum. (Photograph.)

conquerors, — the Almohades, or champions of unity. That the Mohammedans were not completely subdued in the conflict which Alfonso VIII. of Castile (1127–1157) resumed with the utmost zeal, was due partly to the fanatical tenacity of his enemies, partly to the partition of his kingdom that followed on his death. By this partition Leon, with Galicia and Asturias, and Navarre with the Basque provinces, were constituted independent states, which, because involved in constant internecine struggles, were incapacitated for undertaking a war of conquest. Only in the extreme west and in the extreme east of the peninsula did the Christians continue their victorious advance. In the latter region the Aragonese brought the whole Ebro district into their power, while, in the former, King Alfonso of Portugal — with the assistance of the Lower-Rhine fleet carrying Crusaders to the Holy Land — captured, in 1147, the strong city of Lisbon.

After the death of Basil the Macedonian, the Byzantine throne was long occupied by a series of rulers, who, while alive to intellectual interests, imbued with literary tastes, and not destitute of ability for organization, lacked warlike talents, and the power of prompt decision so necessary in a turbulent and unsettled age. The general business of government was, however, fairly well conducted by a carefully organized bureaucracy. The first successor of Basil worthy of note is the general Nicephorus Phocas (963–969), who, after the recovery of Crete and other brilliant successes over the Arabs, became emperor by marriage with the widowed empress Theophano, a Spartan. He was assassinated. His successor was the just and energetic John Zimisces (969–976), who fought with success against Otto II. of Germany in Lower Italy, and against the Arabs in Sicily and Syria. He also reduced Bulgaria to submission. His son, Basil II. (976–1025), in a cruel war of ten years' duration completely subjugated the Bulgarians, and conquered also the Serbians and Croats. Basil II. (Fig. 36) was followed by a number of weak sovereigns, in whose reigns Sicily and Lower Italy passed into the hands of the Normans, and the Seljuk Turks began their incursions, while all real power was in the hands successively of two sisters, the empresses Zoë and Theodora. Finally Michael VI. (1056–1057) was dethroned by the able Isaac Comnenus (1057–1059), the founder of a dynasty which, first at Constantinople and then at Trebizond, wore the imperial crown for more than four hundred years.





PLATE IV.



Emperor Romanus IV and Empress Eudocia.  
Byzantine ivory carving of the eleventh century. Paris, National Library.  
(Ann. arch.)

*History of Art, Vol. IV., page 167*



FIG. 36. — Emperor Basil II. Dedicatory picture in the emperor's Psalter. Miniature of about 1000 A.D. Venice. Library of St. Mark's. (From Labarte.)

The early successors of Isaac — Constantine X. Ducas (1059-67), Romanus IV. Diogenes (1067-71), Michael VII. Ducas (1071-78) (Fig. 38), and the usurper Nicephorus Botoniates (1078-81) (Fig. 41) — were men of no special ability. The last remnants of Lower Italy were lost. The most memorable event of this period is the defeat and capture of Romanus IV. (PLATE IV., Fig. 37) by the Seljuk Turks under Alp Arslan, with the destruction of his

army, in the battle of Malazkerd in 1071. The provinces of Armenia and inner Asia Minor, thus left bare of defence, were speedily overrun by the victors. It was these districts, and not the degenerate Greeks, that had long furnished the strength of the 'Roman' armies; and the military power of the empire never recovered from the blow.



FIG. 37. — Coin of Romanus IV. Diogenes. Obv. : Madonna and Christ-child between the letters MO. Legend : ΘΑΡΣΕΝΕ ΚΟΙ ΗΘΑΙΝΕ, which is continued on the Reverse : ΟΥ ΗΑΗΚΕ ΗΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΤΟΡΘΟΙ (making a dactylic hexameter verse). In the field, the emperor standing. Silver. Size of original. (Berlin.)

With Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118) came the dawn of better days for the tottering state. His reign of nearly forty years seemed to endow it with a fresh lease of life. Wisely limiting his aims, he concentrated all his efforts on internal affairs. The deeply disorganized financial system was re-ordered, the taxes made more



FIG. 38. — Coin of Michael VII. Ducas Parapinaces. Obv. : Bust of emperor. Legend : ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (Ο ΔΟΥΚΑΣ). Rev. : Christ between IC XC. Gold coin. Size of original. (Berlin.)

productive, the administration generally reformed, while art and learning rejoiced in his patronage. But the improvements were by no means thorough. The result of his system was rather the restoration of a certain outward show that barely concealed the still flowing springs of calamity. Thus Alexius (Figs. 39, 40) appears almost a mediæval Justinian, whose rule, under a deceptive veil of brilliancy, gave over state and society as preys to advancing dissolu-

tion. Even the literary efflorescence, as seen in its main representative, Anna Comnena, the emperor's daughter and panegyrist, when closely examined, proves only an artificial revival or imitation of the work of better times. In her work, Alexius's character shows itself as a true Byzantine admixture of diplomatic astuteness and



FIG. 39. — Lead bulla of Alexius I. before his usurpation. Obv. : Only the legend : †ΚΕΒΟΗ ΘΕΙΑΛΕΞΙΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΚΑΙ ΔΟΜΕΣΤΙΚΩ ΤΗΣ ΔΥΣΕΩΣ ΤΩ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΩ (Κύριε Βοήθει Ἀλεξίω, σεβαστῶ καὶ δομestικῶ τῆς δύσεως τῷ Κομνηνῷ). Rev. : St. Demetrius with spear and shield. Legend : Ο . . . ΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ (Ὁ ἅγιος Δημήτριος). (Rev. arch.)

Oriental falsity, of wary circumspection, and unscrupulous violence. In this way we explain his conduct towards the Crusaders,—double-tongued as it was selfish, systematically delusive as it was successful—and the masterly way in which he was able to make use of them for his own advantage. While his eldest son, John (1118–



FIG. 40. — Lead bulla of Alexius I. Obv. : The emperor, bearded, in imperial robes ; in his left hand the globe and cross ; in his right, the labarum. Legend : †ΑΛΕΞΙΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΤΩ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΩ (Ἀλεξίω δεσπότῃ τῷ Κομνηνῷ). Rev. : The Saviour enthroned ; in his left hand a copy of the Gospels, his hand laid upon his breast. IC. X = Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. (Rev. arch.)

1143), ruled in the same spirit, his second son, Manuel Comnenus (1143–1186), was characterized by chivalric tendencies and a warlike disposition, which, not being subordinated to any well-defined policy, gave a show of brilliancy to his reign without accomplishing any solid good for the empire. For from all his wars with the Seljuks in Asia Minor, the Arabs in Egypt, the Slavic tribes, and

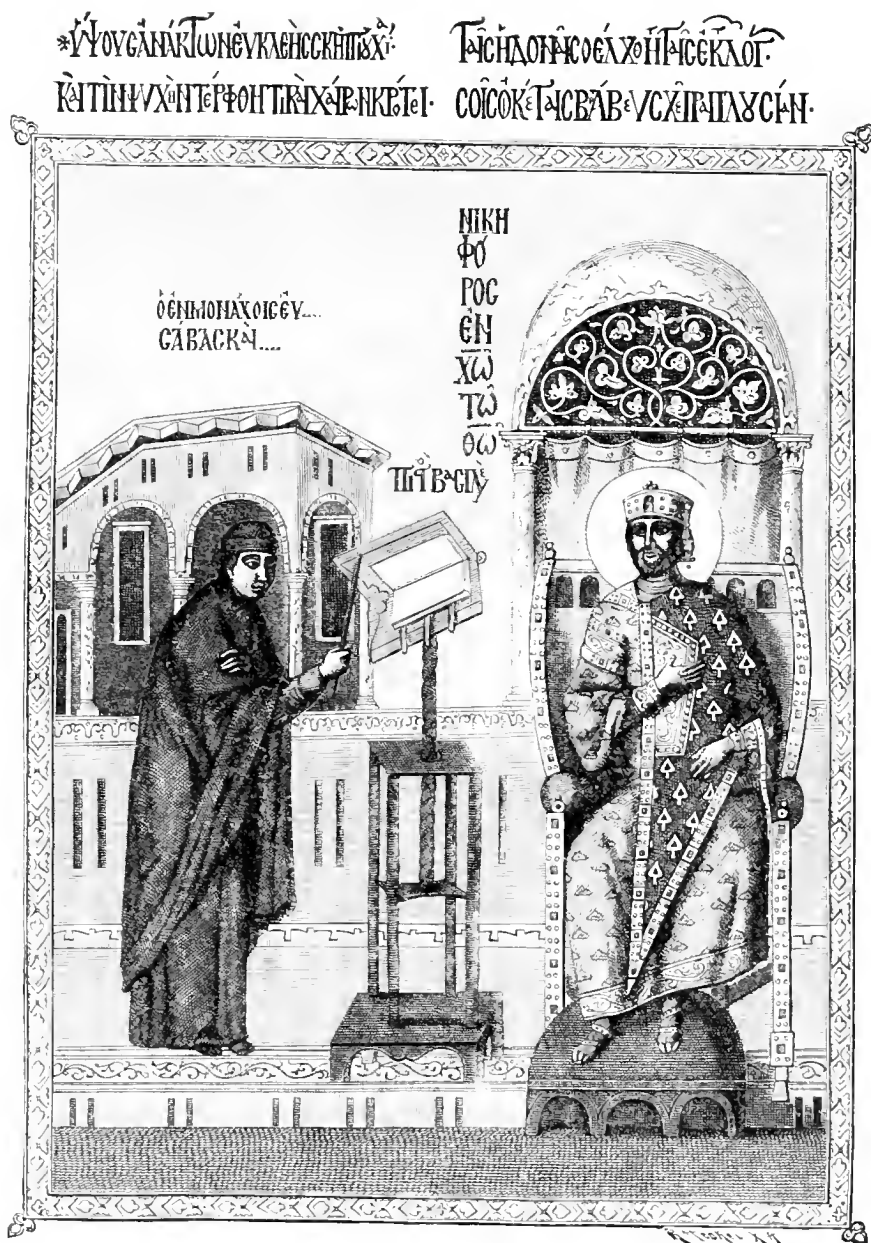


FIG. 11. Emperor Nicephorus Botaniates. Dedicatory picture in a copy of selections from the works of John Chrysostom (317-407), Father of the Church, made for the emperor. Paris. National Library. (From Montfaucon.)

their neighbors, the Hungarians, on the Lower Danube, the Normans in the Greek islands, and the Crusaders settled in Syria, there resulted nothing of abiding advantage; while his subjects were all but ruined by the imposts laid on them. None the less the Byzantine empire, under Alexius and Manuel, once more became a factor in European politics, and recovered its long-forgotten prestige.

We meet the Turks first as a rude, war-like, nomad race of horsemen and shepherds, split up into numerous septs, roving over the steppes on the east of the Caspian, and tributary to the great Khan of the Kirghiz. They first attained political importance about the year 1000, when under their chief, Seljuk, they conquered Bokhara, and, converted to Islamism, became transformed into the powerful apostles of the creed of Mohammed. Under Seljuk's son, Arslan,



Obverse.



Reverse.

FIG. 42. — Dirhem of the Calif Hakim II., of the year 351 (962 A.D.). Mottoes from the Koran, with date, place of minting (Al-Sahra), and the name of Hakim, 'Lord of the Faithful,' and of Abd-er-Rahman, probably the mint-master. Size of original. (Berlin.)

they became dependent on Mahmud, the mightiest of the Ghaznevids, who revolted from the Caliphate, and whose dominions reached from Afghanistan far into Hindustan. Later, they wandered to Khorasan, and with that as a centre founded an independent dominion about the middle of the eleventh century. Under Togrul Beg, a nephew of Arslan, they made themselves masters of Ispahan, while some detachments wandered westward to the frontiers of the Greek empire. As the fame of Togrul Beg's piety filled the whole orthodox (Sunnite) Mohammedan world, the calif of Bagdad called on him for aid in freeing himself from the oppressive sway which the hated Persian Shiite dynasty of the Bujids had for nearly a hundred years, as viziers, imposed on his dishonored house. As Emir al Omra (i.e., 'Premier Noble') and commander-in-chief of the calif's body-guards, and therefore master of his person and empire, Togrul Beg ruled henceforth all the dominions of Bagdad, and through his

energy and military capacity reinstated there a degree of order long unknown. In this double position of ruler over the Seljuk domains and as Emir al Omra, Togrul was succeeded by his nephew, Alp Arslan (1063-1072), who made extensive conquests. With his oldest son, Malik Shah, the power of the Seljuks reached its culminating point. Malik Shah was revered as the greatest and best Mohammedan ruler of his age. Not so much by his victories as by the weight of his moral authority, he restored to Islam a certain degree of unity, which, coinciding, as it did exactly, with the beginning of the attacks of western Christendom, materially enhanced its power of resistance. In his unchecked career of victory, Malik made his word law up to the frontiers of China. Meanwhile his commanders wrested from the Fatimites Syria and Palestine, where tributary states arose under his nephews in Aleppo and Damascus, while states of a similar character were founded by a successful adventurer, Suleiman, in the middle and northwestern districts of Asia Minor. Since the most glorious days of the califate, the Mohammedan world had not known such unity, concord, and sense of power. But with the death of Malik Shah, in 1092, his empire fell to pieces. In Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Syria, there sprang up a multitude of petty kingdoms, partly under scions of the Seljuk house, partly under parvenus of various origin, who, involved in mutual conflicts, through their disunion enabled the Crusaders to win their first victories, and only too late endeavored to repair their errors through a faster bond of union. The most important of these little states was the sultanate of Iconium, established in the heart of Asia Minor, where, towards the end of the eleventh century, Malik Shah's nephew, Kilidj Arslan, held sway. Contemporaneously with him many petty dynasties, generally at war with each other, ruled in Damascus, Aleppo, Edessa, Mosul, and Jerusalem.

The appearance of the Seljuk Turks in western Asia was signalized by a new offensive movement of Mohammedanism upon Christianity. The savageness of these foes, who knew how to conceal their inborn barbarity under the guise of religious zeal, was ascribed by the Christians to the influence of Islamism. Meanwhile, with the growth of the high-church movement in the eleventh century, the intolerance of the Christians of the west grew stronger, and their faith in subduing the world to the faith more undoubting. Thus the relations of the professors of the two faiths to each other became changed. For manifold and embittered as the conflicts might have



been in which they measured their strength against each other, yet over the world generally they were able to live side by side in peace. In Spain and Sicily, as well as in the Byzantine empire, the Christian rulers had shown themselves tolerant to their Mohammedan subjects, had employed them as mercenaries in their wars, and availed themselves of Arab teachers for the cultivation of art and science. And the Christians had, in general, taken a similar position in the califate. Over and above this, commerce and navigation, and international relations of multiform character, had contributed to ally their interests closely. Notwithstanding the manifold interdicts laid on foreign trade by Byzantium out of political grounds, the Venetians had maintained a lively commercial intercourse with all the Mohammedan states on the Mediterranean seaboard, especially with Syria; Pisa, Genoa, and Marseilles shared with Venice in the trade with Egypt; while Sicily, Naples, Salerno, and Amalfi carried on an extensive trade with North Africa and Syria. Up to this time, therefore, no such antagonism — either political, religious, or economical — had developed between Islam and Christianity as to make it impossible for their adherents to live together in peace, and still less such as to inspire them with a passion for destroying each other.

But now a struggle, far more momentous and more uncompromising than any that had preceded it since the first zeal of Islam spent itself, was made inevitable by the aggressions and atrocities of the Turks, and by the strong religious excitement which took possession of western Europe at the period of the conflict over the investiture. In truth, it was not only exultant ecstacy that impelled the enthusiastic multitudes forward to deeds pleasing to God. The depravity which had seized on wide circles during the passionate struggle over the investiture drove many to seek their salvation in the service of the cross. The grievances of the time, with its embittered ecclesiastical and political conflicts, and wild ferment in social and economical relations, pressed with special severity on the lower classes. In the despondent conviction that at any rate they had nothing more to lose, tens of thousands took part in the great adventure.

All these motives — spiritual, ecclesiastical, hierarchical, ascetic, political, social, and economical — became effectively operative when concentrated in one place, where they were controlled by a common supreme authority. Gregory VII. had already decided to arm

western Christendom for the deliverance of the Byzantine empire; and the carrying out of the great scheme seemed all but imminent, when the great strife with Henry IV. burst forth to interrupt it. Meanwhile the distress of the Greeks became constantly greater, and in 1095 Alexius Comnenus addressed himself for help to Pope Urban II. At the Council of Piacenza, in March, 1095, Urban commended to the faithful the campaign for the support of the Greek emperor against the heathen. Thereafter, in November, he held a council in Clermont, the capital of Auvergne, among the southern French who had long been ardent devotees of the church, and were by nature easily excited to action. It was attended by fourteen archbishops, more than 200 bishops, and many hundreds of the lower clergy, and was surrounded by many thousands of enthusiastic laymen, that gave a vivid impression of the church's world-commanding position. More than ever were the masses impressed with the omnipotence of the church; higher than ever before rose the waves of believing enthusiasm; and when Urban reverted to the undertaking already recommended at Piacenza, the assembled thousands, ere he had time to finish, broke out in an exultant cry of "God wills it! God wills it!" and every one pressed forward to have the red cross attached to his right shoulder. It was the same symbol as that under which the Normans had fought the Arabs in Sicily, and William the Conqueror, as commissioned by the church, had conquered the Anglo-Saxons at Hastings. The support given the scheme by the mightiest prince of southern France — Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse and Marquis of Provence — placed it at once on a solid foundation. With the organization of the Crusade, which was promoted by sending missionaries of the cross with the assurance of advantages of all kinds, spiritual and temporal, to its participants, Urban commissioned Bishop Adhemar of Puy, whom he also appointed his representative on the expedition.

The First Crusade soon became a fertile subject for myths and systematic legendary amplification. In this way we account for the fact that the French pilgrim monk, Peter of Amiens, has been regarded as the author of the whole movement. Peter the Hermit was only one of the most zealous, and therefore the most effective and best-known, of the missionaries who preached the cross in France and Germany, persuading the inflammable people to enter on the campaign too rashly and ill-equipped. But the unorganized crowds, in their fervid eagerness for action, and without proper leadership

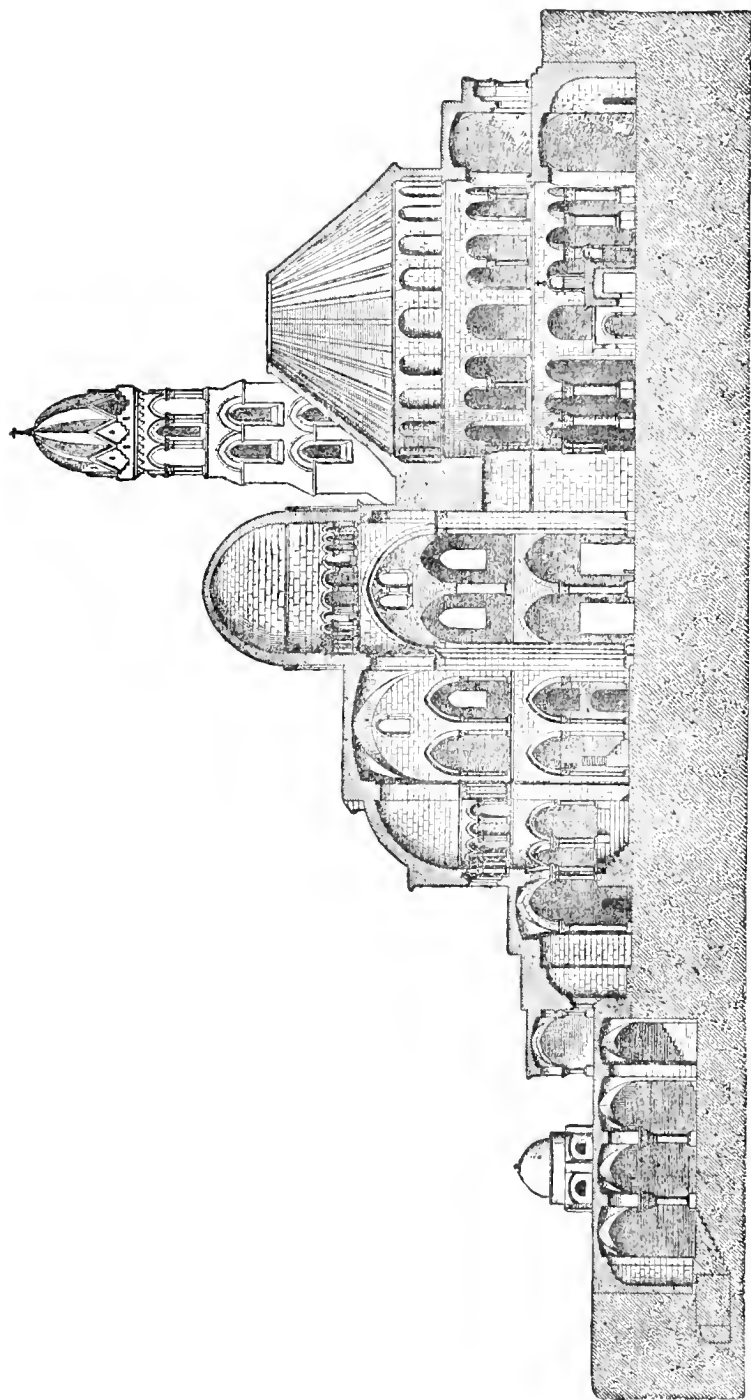


FIG. 43. — Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Longitudinal section, representing the church in the twelfth century. (From Vogue.)

or even suitable weapons, started long before the term set for the advance of the main army, and in great part fell victims to Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Greeks. Fifty thousand, indeed, under the immediate command of Peter himself, reached Asia Minor, there to perish almost to a man at Nice, their leader escaping by a fortunate accident.

The main army of the Crusaders set out in the summer of 1096, with Constantinople as its place of rendezvous, which the nationalities approached by various routes. Godfrey of Bouillon, the Duke



FIG. 44. Emperor Alexius. Miniature in a Greek manuscript, Vatican Library. (From Seroux d'Agincourt.)

of Lower Lorraine, with his brothers Baldwin and Eustace, the brave Baldwin de Bourg, and Count Robert of Flanders, with many knights of Lorraine and the Lower Rhine, took their way through Hungary. The Northern French, under Hugh of Vermandois, brother of King Philip, Duke Robert of Normandy, and Count Stephen of Blois, marched through Italy, and, taking ship from Apulia to the coast of Greece, crossed that country to the meeting-place. The Southern French, under Raymond of Toulouse, advanced through Slavonia and Dalmatia, accompanied by Bishop Adhemar of Puy. The Normans, under the vigorous and skilful Bohemond of Tarentum, the son of Robert Guiscard, and of his cousin, Tancred, formed an especially important element in the expedition. Actuated

in no degree by religious enthusiasm, these Normans fought to win land, people, and riches, and, as the representatives of cool political and military calculation, carried great weight.

Not without grave anxiety did the Emperor Alexius Comnenus (Figs. 44 and 45) see these masses approach his capital.

The old antagonism between the Greek and Roman churches and the antipathy to the Normans gave reason for dreading the worst. To bar the way for the Crusaders was impracticable: as little could he afford to let a great Christian power arise in the east independent of him, and certain soon to become hostile. In view of the situation, Alexius decided on making the princes of the Crusade his feudatories,

who, in virtue of his commission, should win back the former Greek possessions for him. Hugh of Vermandois readily acceded to the scheme. Godfrey of Bouillon, after some demur, vowed to give over all the formerly Greek domains which he might conquer to Alexius, and to insure their allegiance to him. Bohemond of Tarentum took the oath without scruple; Raymond of Toulouse roundly rejected it, and only accepted the general pledge that he would do nothing to injure the person or affect the honor of the emperor. The Northern French, under Stephen of Blois, followed the example of the Normans. When this matter was conclusively set at rest, Greek ships transported the Crusaders across the straits. In the spring of 1097 the entire combined forces, amounting to between 300,000 and 400,000 fighting men, stood on the soil of Asia Minor, the threshold of the Mohammedan East.

At first the Crusaders addressed themselves to the attack of the fortified city of Nîce, which lay on a lake connected with



FIG. 45. — Coin of Alexius I. Comnenus. Legends †ΚΕ (κύριε) ΒΟΗΘΕΙ (βοήθει), and ΑΛΕΞΙΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΩ. Size of original. (Berlin.)

the sea. In vain did Sultan Kilidj Arslan, issuing from Iconium, strive to break through the blockade; but the Crusaders, through want of unity in the command, and of skill in the art of sieges, made but slow progress. At length, when, on June 19, they were ready to storm the city, it was suddenly, in accordance with a secret understanding with the Greeks, given over to the latter, and the warriors of the cross had to withdraw with empty hands. On their march southward, while their columns were thrown into confusion and separated by the rugged nature of the ground, they were, on July 1, attacked by Kilidj Arslan at Dorylaeum. At first hard beset, they ultimately carried the day. The advance through the Sultanate of Iconium encountered no further resistance. Baldwin of Lorraine, with a slender force, set out on a daring march eastward, subduing the country as far as the Euphrates, and capturing Edessa, which he

selected as the seat of his government. Meanwhile the main army advanced through the Cilician Gates towards the strongly fortified Antioch (Fig. 47), which, after a vigorous defence, was captured on June 7, 1098, through a secret understanding between Bohemond and certain of the defenders, and was given over to the Norman prince. Immediately upon its fall a powerful Turkish army, under Korboga, Sultan of Mosul, made its appearance, and in turn shut in the Christians, who were reduced to dire straits. But, inspired by despair, and yet more by the supposed discovery of the sacred

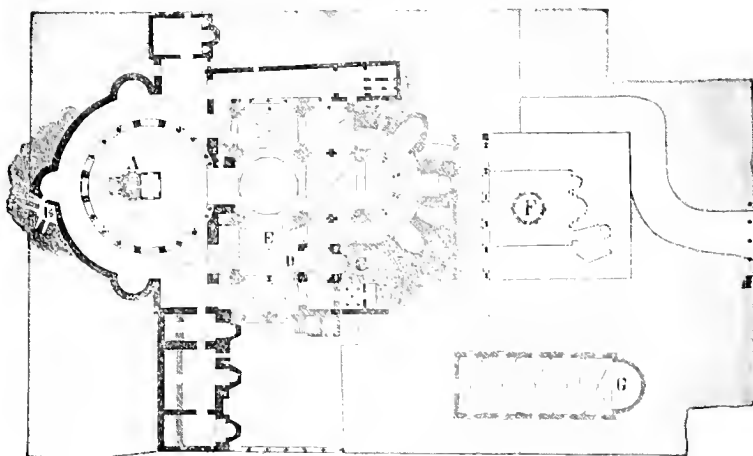





FIG. 46 Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Ground plan.

-  Earliest portion.
-  Crusaders' buildings.
-  Rock.

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| A. The Holy Sepulchre.                | E. Tombs of the last four kings of Jerusalem. |
| B. Ancient Jewish graves.             | F. Chapel of St. Helena.                      |
| C. Golgotha (according to tradition). | G. Church of St. Mary (Latin).                |
| D. Tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin I.    |   |

lance by which the Saviour's side was pierced, they freed themselves by a battle delivered on June 28. The relaxation of discipline and the quarrels of the leaders, who envied each other every gain, led to long months of inaction, till the threatening attitude of the common soldiers, discontented at seeing the end of the enterprise lost sight of, compelled the resumption of the march to Jerusalem. Following the coast southwards, the Crusaders reached the Sacred City without further impediment, on June 7, 1099, and forthwith made ready for the attack. The first attempt to storm the city was repulsed on June 13; but the arrival of a Genoese fleet at Jaffa, with

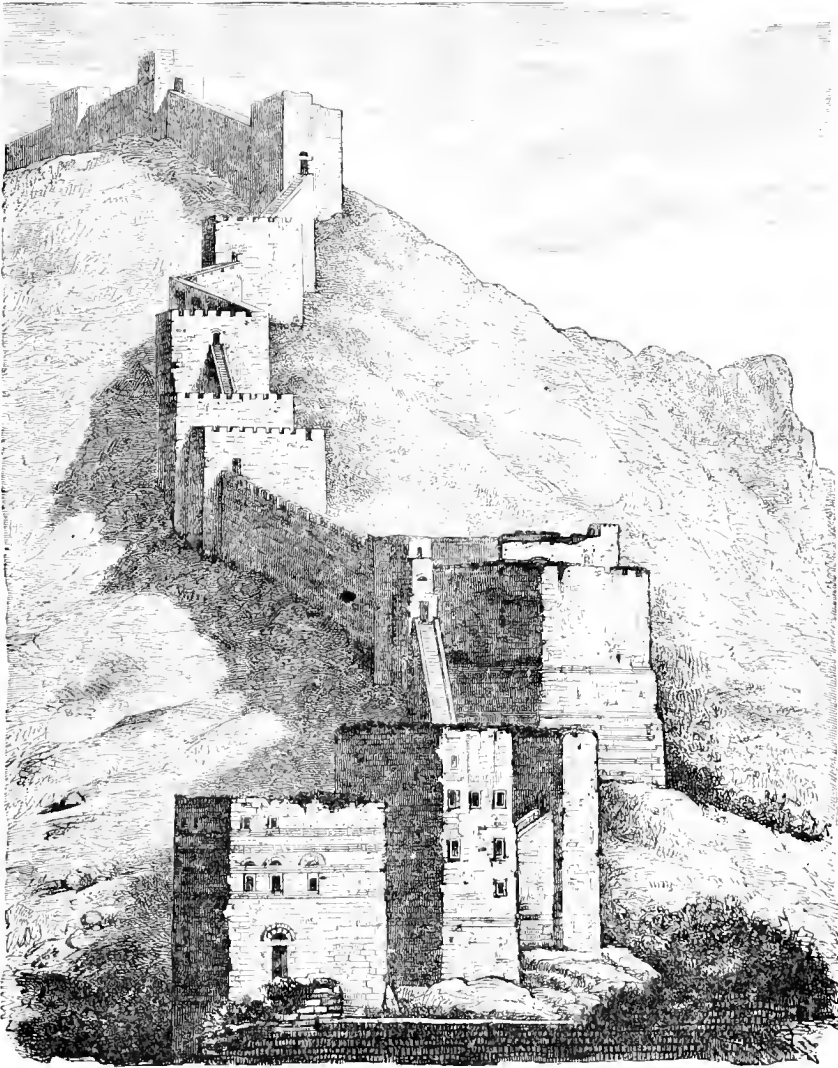


FIG. 47. — A part of the western side of the fortified walls of Antioch. (From Rey.)

engines and provisions, afforded the means for a systematic assault; and, on July 14, the city was taken by storm, and the Mohammedan population ruthlessly massacred.

The new state, whose erection was to guarantee the enduring possession of the Holy City to Christendom, was based entirely on the Norman-French feudal system, and consequently lacked that centralization of the powers of government, and unity in direction,

without which so remote a military colony could not thrive. Godfrey of Bouillon, who had gradually risen to the first place in the command of the army through his unselfish devotion to the common cause, enjoyed through his elevation to the throne of Jerusalem, as 'Defender of the Holy Sepulchre' (PLATE V., Figs. 43, 46), only an honorary presidency over the Prince of Antioch, the Count of Tripoli, and the Lord of Edessa, without having political or military supremacy over any one of them. Most of the Crusaders, having now discharged themselves of their vow, returned to their homes, leaving in Palestine a number altogether insufficient for its defence. The want of secured means of communication with the West threatened to become fatal, because the numerically far superior Mohammedans, having recovered from their first surprise, were making

preparations for the recovery of what they had lost. Under the circumstances Godfrey could do little or nothing for the good of his state. Later ages have delighted to depict him as a lawgiver and author of civil order by ascribing to him the codification of the legal usages prevailing in the kingdom of Jerusalem, known as the 'Assizes of Jerusalem.' But the codification was in reality of much later date. The

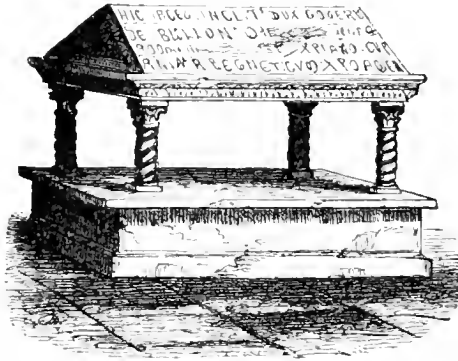
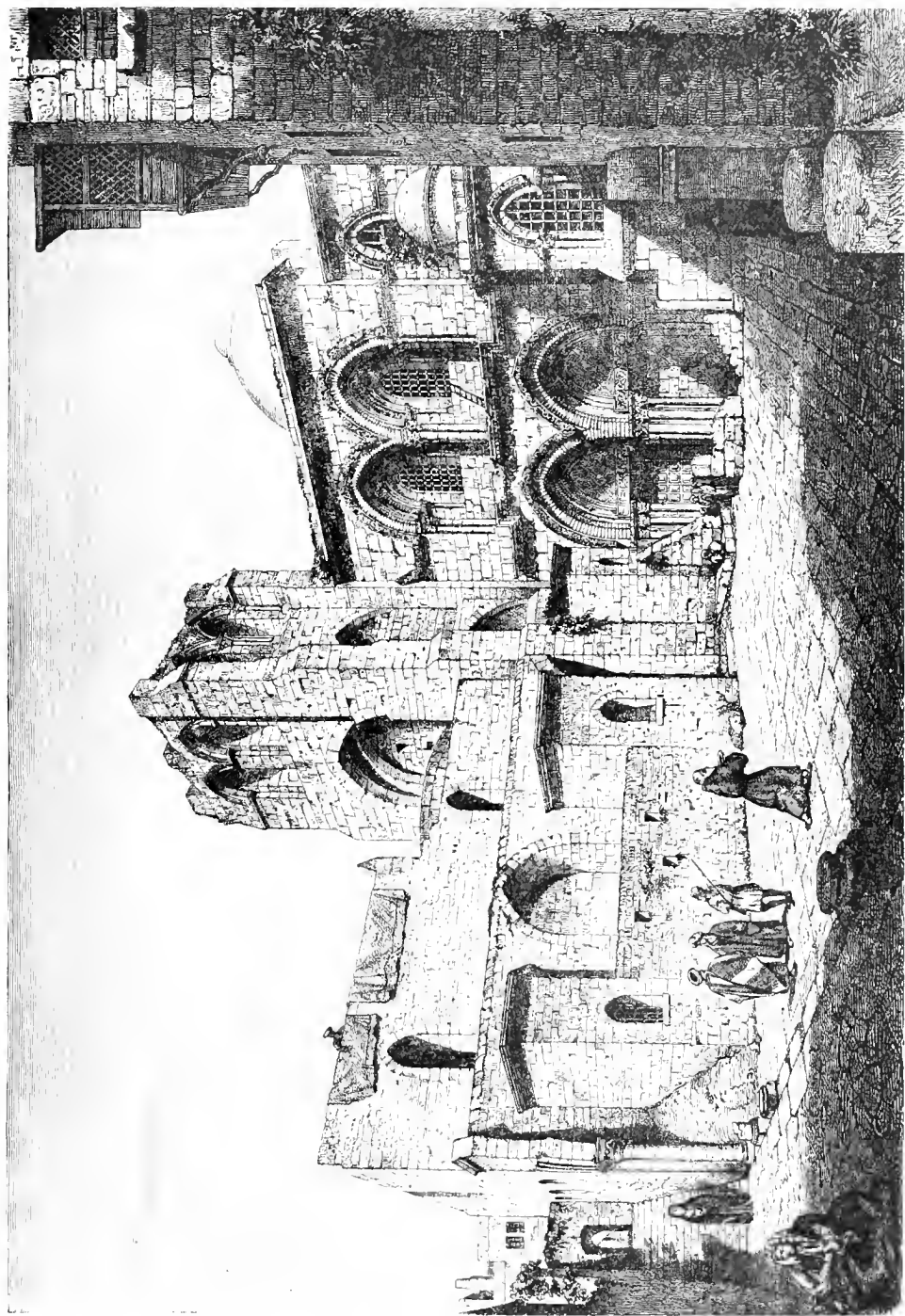


FIG. 48. — Tomb of Godfrey of Bouillon in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. (From Vogüé.)

supplementary Crusade of 1100, — to which powerful contingents were contributed by Italy under Anselm of Milan; by France, under the Dukes of Burgundy and Aquitaine; by Germany, under Duke Welf of Bavaria, the Margrave John of Austria, and Archbishop Thietmar of Salzburg, — in endeavoring, in 1101, to liberate Baldwin of Edessa, who was held in captivity by the Mohammedans, was annihilated, save a few miserable remnants, in the rugged and desolate highlands of Phrygia.

On the other hand, the situation of the Christian colony was materially bettered through the circumspection and energy of Baldwin I. (1100–1118), who, in July 1100, succeeded his deceased brother Godfrey (Fig. 162) on the throne of Jerusalem. He restrained the





Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. (From Nogué.)



arrogance and greed of the hierarchy, and captured, in successive years, the most important coast cities, as Arsuf, Caesarea, Acco (Acre), Tripoli, Beirut, and Sidon, through which he received supplies from the maritime cities of Italy, especially from Genoa. No less circumspect and successful was his successor, Baldwin II. (1118–1131). With Venetian help he captured, in 1124, the important city of Tyre, and established his footing firmly in Banias, near the source of the Jordan, defeating the rulers of Aleppo

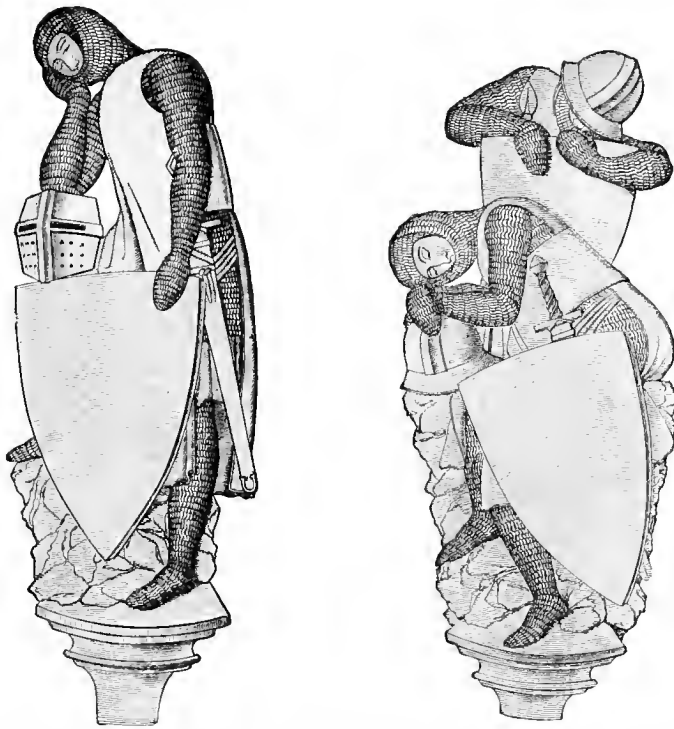


FIG. 49. Sculptures in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in the Cathedral at Constance. Knights in the costume of 1218–1220. (From von Hefner-Alteneck.)

and Damascus. (Cf. Figs. 49–51.) The close of his reign marks the acme of the Christian power in Palestine. Under his son-in-law and successor, Fulk V. of Anjou (1131–1143), decadence began to set in, mainly in consequence of intestine strifes. The condition grew from bad to worse, when, on his death, he was followed by his young son, Baldwin III. (1143–1162). During his reign the religious orders of the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John sprang up, which, originally devoted to the protection



FIG. 50. — Scenes from contests between the Crusaders and Saracens. Picture in a window of the eleventh century, formerly in the Church of St. Denis, near Paris.



FIG. 51. — Scenes from conflicts between Crusaders and Saracens. Picture in a window of the eleventh century, in the Church of Notre Dame in Paris. (Figs. 50, 51, are from Planché.)

of pilgrims and care of the sick, became afterwards organized into military bodies. When the Sultan Nureddin, in 1146, seized and destroyed Edessa, and threatened northern Syria, the Christian sway fell into deadly peril, and most urgent cries for help were sent forth to the West.

Under the impulse of the high-church movement which promised the world deliverance from all its troubles and woes on condition of its giving itself to so pious an undertaking, the fervid eloquence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux was effective in arousing not only Louis VII. of France to take the cross in expiation of his sins, but also Conrad III. of Germany, notwithstanding that the situation in his country was the reverse of propitious for such an enterprise. The issue was most disastrous. Conrad advanced overland to Constantinople, but, without awaiting there the arrival of the French, crossed at once to Asia Minor. Attacked by a vastly superior Turkish force near Iconium, his army was all but annihilated, he himself regaining Constantinople with only a miserable remnant of his following. Louis's attempt to reach Syria by marching along the coast had little better result. He, too, reached his goal with only remnants of his host. In Jerusalem he effected a junction with Conrad, who, re-enforced by fresh bands from Germany, also came by sea. After long delay and indecision, an unsuccessful expedition was made against the strong city of Damascus. The only material advantage that the Second Crusade (1147-1149) conferred on Christendom was the help afforded by the Lower Rhenish crusaders to Alfonso of Burgundy for the conquest of Lisbon.

## CHAPTER VII.

### SKETCH OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION IN THE CENTURY OF THE CONFLICT OF THE INVESTITURE.

(A.D. 1056-1152.)

SCARCELY at any other period — not even in the sixteenth century, when the Reformation movement was at its height — was the whole development of Western Christendom so exclusively domi-

nated by church interests, affected by ecclesiastical controversies, and in the most critical moments influenced in accordance with ecclesiastical points of view, as in the century of the conflict of the investiture. This predominance of ecclesiastical interests (Fig. 52) is fully evidenced, not only by the history, but also by the architectural and literary remains of the period. Taken in connection with two other facts of first importance, — the development of the intellectual movement known as scholasticism, and the primacy of France, — it supplies the key necessary to enable us to understand the civilization of the age.



FIG. 52. Costume of monks in the twelfth century. From a martyrologium of 1138, Stuttgart, Royal Library. (From von Hefner-Alteneck.)

controversy of the investiture — is dominated by ecclesiastical interests. During the whole century no trace is to be discovered, with some exceptions in England and France, of national poetry deserving the name; and it is scarcely less remarkable, that the great epic saga of the *Nibelungen* underwent no modification, either in spirit

or form, during the whole period. Important as the rôle then played by the laity was, in literature it receives no word of recognition. The few rhymes that the age produced were by churchmen, who treated only spiritual subjects.

The case was the same in the domain of the plastic arts, and particularly in that of architecture. As regards productiveness, the period excites astonishment; but as far as variety is concerned, it is singularly meagre. The complete predominance of the Romanesque style is in keeping with the absolute supremacy of the Romish

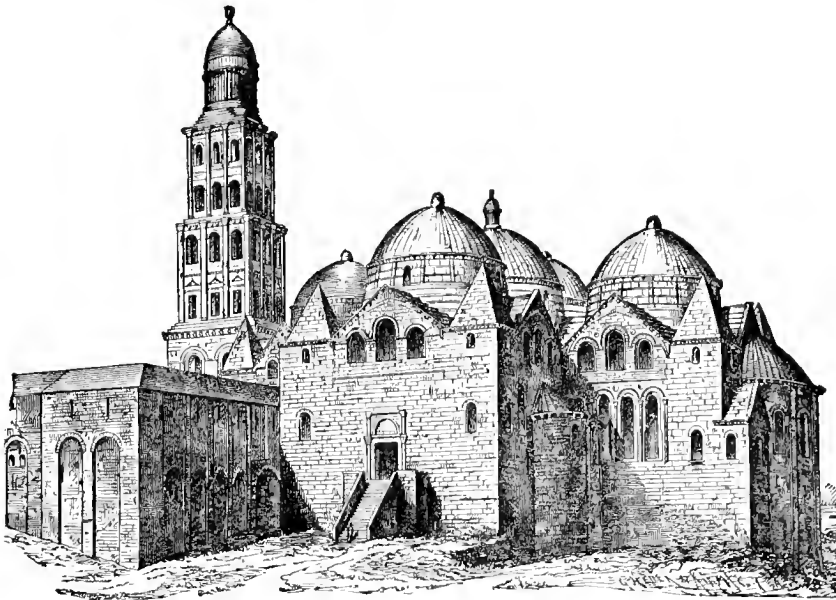


FIG. 53. — St. Front at Périgueux. Designed in the tenth century, after St. Mark's in Venice, as a cruciform church with five domes, the model for many churches in southwestern France.

church, whose aspiring and domineering spirit and unity of organization are admirably typified by the form of its imposing and compact cathedrals (Fig. 53). Kings and prelates were the patrons to whom these masterpieces owed their origin. The burgher class — which at a later day was to rear the proudest monuments in this domain — was yet too much engrossed in vindicating for itself a fuller measure of freedom and in slowly accumulating wealth, to take part in works of this character. Secular architecture (Figs. 54–58) kept pace with ecclesiastical. Royal and episcopal palaces rose by the side of the mighty cathedrals, while the more numerous

peopled cities made rapid advances in the construction of more artistically fortified strongholds. For Germany it suffices to refer to the Cathedral of Spire—the work of Conrad II. and Henry IV.—and to that of Mayence, the two most renowned of those glorious structures that the rivalry of prelates and princes then called into existence in such surprising numbers. In France the most noteworthy are the great church of St. Severin at Toulouse, and the graceful edifice in honor of St. Stephen (St. Étienne) at Caen; in England, the cathedrals of Winchester and Peterborough. All of these churches, while retaining the characteristic features of the Romanesque style, show variations in detail and ornamentation

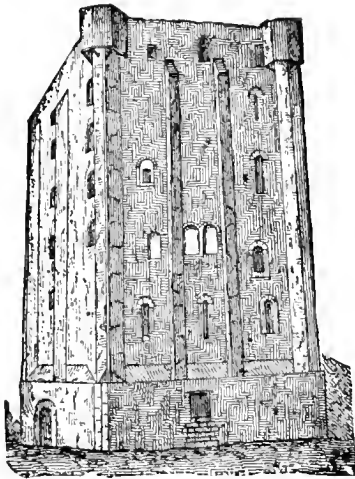


FIG. 54. — The Donjon at Beaugency on the Loire.

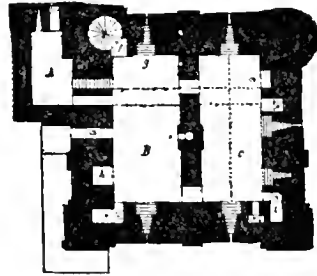


FIG. 55. — Ground plan of an English Donjon or Keep (Rochester) of the twelfth century. A. Front edifice. B. Large room with two needle windows in niches, two places for beds, *h* and *i*, and a passage-way, *a* leading under the draw-bridge. C. Southern room with four needle windows in niches, and four places for beds (*k*, *k*, *l*, *m*). *f*. Spiral staircase. (From Jähns.)

which were in harmony with the artistic idiosyncrasies of the German, French, and Norman peoples. As an Italian creation of the period, we have the Cathedral of St. Mark in Venice. The stormy scenes of succeeding ages have spared comparatively few specimens of secular architecture.

But not only in regard to literature and architecture was the century of the war of the investiture dominated by the spirit of the Church of Rome, which ruled equally over the realm of science, now also became a slave of the church. This epoch brought forth scholasticism, which almost longer than the church itself has held dominion over the scientific life of the West: and this not only in respect of method, but also of subject-matter and the object it strove to



attain. It is a significant coincidence, that, at the same Lateran synod which by the adoption of the new regulations for the election of a pope took the first decisive step towards the emancipation of the Romish episcopate from the German monarchy, Lanfranc, the abbot of Bec, in Normandy, and later archbishop of Canterbury, as the champion of the sensual conception of transubstantiation, triumphed over Berengarius of Tours with his more spiritual interpretations. By so doing he determined for all time to come the orthodox Romish standpoint in this most crucial question. It was the logical and practical outcome of this that Anselm, Lanfranc's successor both in Bec and Canterbury, made science the mere tool of theology by de-

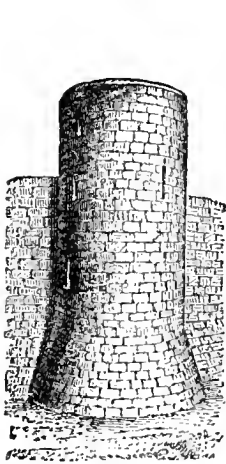


FIG. 56. — Tower in the wall of Provins. Twelfth century.

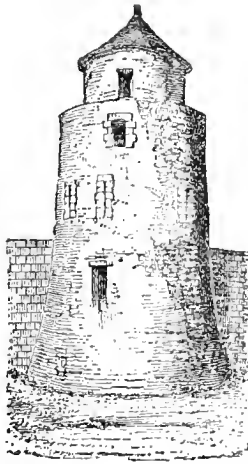


FIG. 57. — Tower of the Castle of Fougères. Twelfth century.

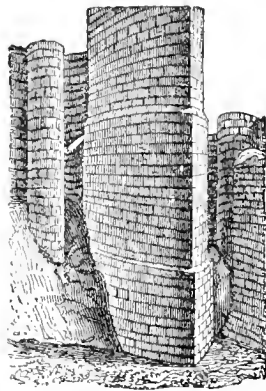


FIG. 58. — Tower of the Castle of Loches. Twelfth century.

(From Jahns.)

claring faith to be the beginning and source of knowledge, and seeing the only justification and mission of science in its making what had been accepted by faith easier of acceptance as divine truth by the limited human intellect. The mighty formal apparatus developed by scholasticism on the basis of Aristotle's logic, and set into action, with hair-splitting casuistry and all but infallible certainty, for the verification of its theses, stood in sorry disproportion to its meagre intellectual contents, and the positive results of this whole so-called science. And in this respect there was no essential difference between the two schools into which scholasticism split — the Realist and the Nominalist. The former contended that abstractions

or general ideas have a real substantive existence apart from things, while the latter denied this. Roscellinus, the real author of Nominalism, became involved in a conflict concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, from which he could deliver himself only by recantation.

In France lay Paris, the great intellectual capital of the West, with its lately founded but already great and flourishing university, the very nucleus of the scientific life of the age. The Cluniacs belonged to France, and the hierarchy, as organized by Gregory VII.,

was Italian only in method; intellectually and morally it was French, as was its entire apparatus. It was the French clergy that, after the catastrophe of 1111, revolted against Paschal II., — caught in his own net by the emperor Henry V., — to take up once more the fight for the realization of their hierarchical ideal; and it was a Frenchman — Pope Calixtus II. — that brought it to a successful end. It was the French episcopate which, in the schism criminally invoked by the hierarchical party between Anacletus II. and Innocent II., upheld the cause of the latter; and it was again a Frenchman, Bernard of Clairvaux, who by his indefatigable labors carried it on to victory. Not in the sphere of the intellect and spirit only, but in that of church politics as well, France was then the leading nation. Add to this the pre-eminent rôle the French nobility played in the Crusades (Figs. 59, 60), and that they were then on the point of securing the sovereignty of the East, and we shall be



FIG. 59. — Knight of the First Crusade. Miniature in a manuscript in the British Museum. (From Louandre.)

able to appreciate why the centre of gravity of Western Christendom was transferred from Germany to France. A change of far-reaching import in the history of civilization seemed at hand. Since the days of Louis the Pious the future of Germany never looked so beclouded. The place of pride so long held by her seemed irrecoverably lost. This was the disastrous consequence of the discord resulting from the war of the investiture, permeating every grade of society, and paralyzing all united effort. In order not to be crushed



FIG. 60. — Window in the Cathedral of Chartres. Thirteenth century. A bishop hands a banner to a Crusader, known by the sign on his breast. (From Gailhabaud.)

under the increasing pressure of Rome, or, more correctly, France, Germany required a new unification and closer concentration of her strength.

There could scarcely be a greater contrast than that between the despondent spirit then prevailing in Germany and that of Romanism rejoicing in its triumphant elevation. The empire was looked on as subdued and doomed to ruin, and even the best of its clergy saw no way of escape from the universal misery except by flight from the world. The palm of intellectual supremacy, indisputably German in the age of the Ottos, had passed to the cloisters and schools of France.

But precisely in this latter domain the way was being paved for a change decisively affecting the church, and especially the papacy. Breaches were being made in the strongly compacted structure of dogma based on scholasticism. The movement is associated with the name of the much persecuted Abelard, which his passionate love for Héloïse, his fair and learned pupil, has surrounded with an imperishable glamour of romance. In opposition to the logical compulsion of scholasticism, Abelard boldly maintained the freedom of the intellect through dialectics by showing how every proposition can be equally well logically proved or refuted. Thus he justified doubt as the beginning of all investigation, and hence of all recognition of the truth, thus constituting himself the author of rationalism. Bernard of Clairvaux was easily able to overthrow Abelard in the eyes of the world through his impassioned denunciation,—nay, to have him silenced and put into a monastery. But the movement originated by him could not be stayed by the abbot's power. Its effects were felt in kindred currents which began to sap the foundations of dogmatic orthodoxy. An elder contemporary, Peter de Bruys, had already challenged infant baptism, the veneration of the cross, and transubstantiation, and, in 1124, expiated his audacity at the stake. The Bishop of Poitiers (Fig. 61), Gilbert de la Porée, who in the study of nature put reason above faith, but who did not presume to question the supremacy of the latter in theological questions, nevertheless had doubts in regard to the Trinity for which he was condemned as a heretic. There were not wanting men in the ranks of the orthodox, who, like Peter Damianus in the days of Gregory VII., took offence at the entanglement of the church in worldly affairs. In Germany there appeared, about the middle of the twelfth century, as representative of this view, among others, Gerold of Reichersperg, who saw,

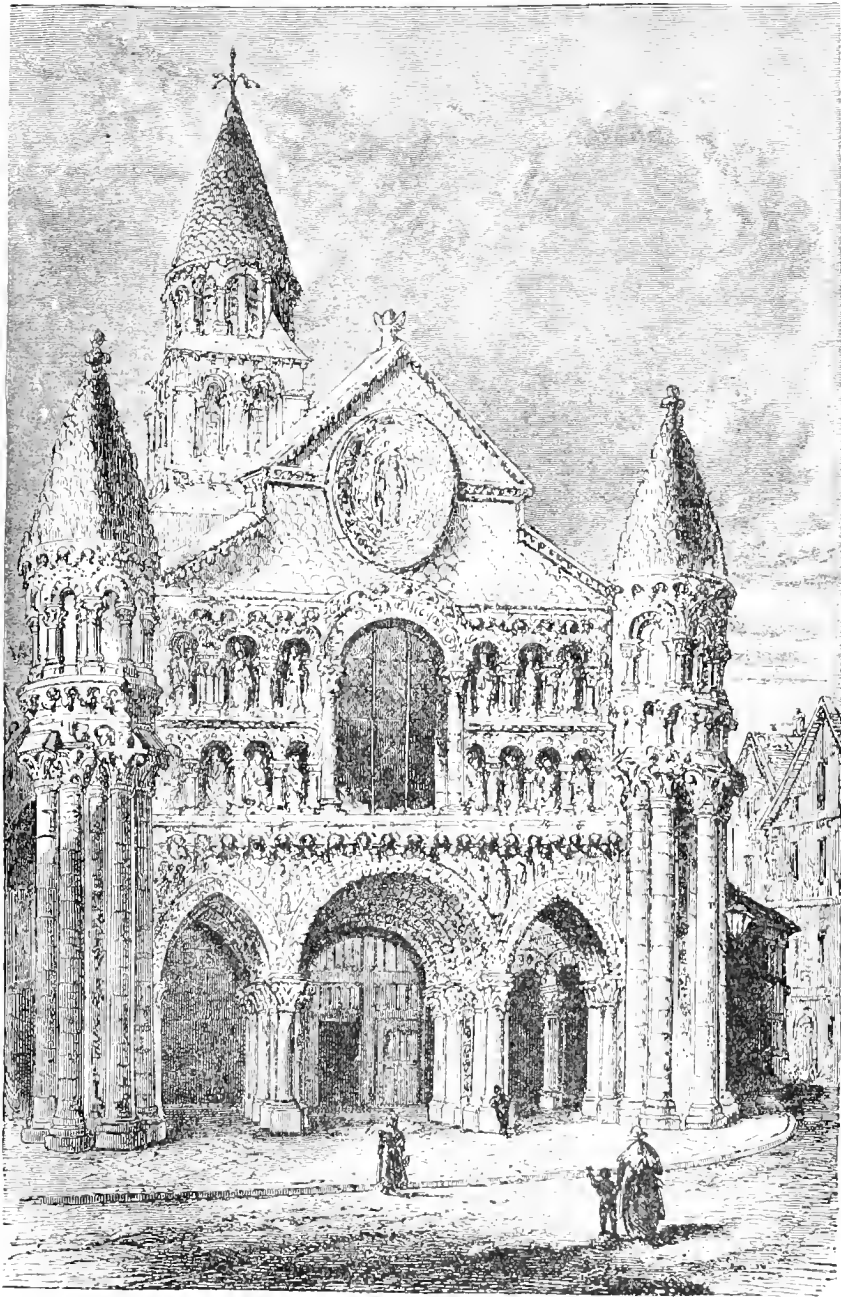


FIG. 61. — The Cathedral at Poitiers. Twelfth Century. (From Lacroix.)

in the disastrous issue of the Second Crusade, the judgment of God on the worldliness of the church. Simultaneously with this, practical reform movements gained ground. Such were those of the Paulicians and Bogomiles on the Danube, who in the then visible church saw the work of the wicked one. Besides these may be named the Cathari in Southern France and Upper Italy.

From the same soil sprang up the earnest labors of Arnold of Brescia, a pupil of Abelard, who urged the clergy to fulfil the com-



FIG. 62. Costumes at Court in the twelfth century. From the "Hortus Deliciarum" ('Garden of Delight') of the Abbess Herrad of Landsberg, about 1160-1170. From Engelhardt's edition.

mandment of evangelical poverty. He himself, with his disciples, set the example, for which he was banished from Italy in 1139 by the Lateran council. Retiring to France, and teaching in Paris, he was virulently maligned by St. Bernard, and took refuge in Switzerland. Anathematized anew, Arnold took the side of the people of Rome, who had just revolted with success (1117-1118) against the pope as ruler of the city, and installed a democratic senate, which Eugenius III. had ultimately to recognize. In concert with the populace, Arnold now publicly denounced the pope and Rome's servitude.

Among his followers there grew up the thought of originating, with the help of the German king, a radical movement which should definitively strip the papacy of its secular power, and make an end of the evils due to a domineering priesthood.

Such proceedings indicate the growth of a movement in opposition to the hitherto universally recognized supremacy of the church. The latter had not been able to follow up its great claims by corresponding deeds. The inglorious issue of the Second Crusade consummated the collapse of the system in existence since the Concordat of Worms. The reaction against Romanism now spread from the sphere of the clergy and learned theologians to the great mass of the laymen. The movement was at once political and national. About the middle of the twelfth century (Fig. 62), the assault began on the representatives of the old, and now proved worthless order. It was directed, on the one hand, against the

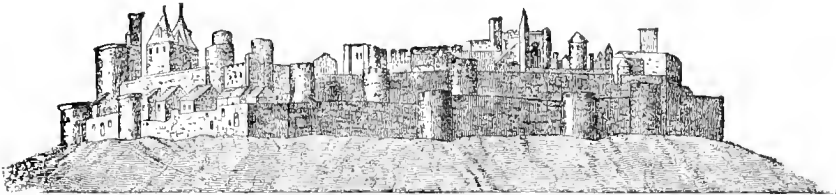


FIG. 63. — Carcassonne in Southern France. End of the eleventh century. Surrounded by a double series of walls with towers, 5000 feet in circuit.

papacy and the thralldom of the national churches; on the other, against the patron and defender of the hierarchy, the French monarchy. Germany and England — Frederick I. and Henry II. — were the champions of the new era which now dawned. This change was made possible, or at least facilitated, by the elevation to the throne of England of Henry Plantagenet of Anjou, lord of Normandy, and, through his wife, of the finest districts in Southern France. France was thus not only largely reduced in her dimensions, but precipitated into a long war with England, so that Rome lost her most constant defender in the most critical moment of her existence. Henry, at times hard-pressed in the struggle, was driven to ally the Anglo-Saxon element in his kingdom to himself in opposition to the untrustworthy Norman French, by the grant of greater freedom, and thus prepared the way for the formation of the new English nation.





BOOK II.

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THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY  
IN THE AGE OF THE  
HOHENSTAUFENS.

(A.D. 1152-1272.)



# THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY IN THE AGE OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE HISTORICAL SOURCES.

UNUSUALLY rich and varied are the historical records from the middle of the twelfth century onwards, reflecting as they do the propitious change that set in for Germany with the accession of Frederick I. (Barbarossa). Even among the clergy, who, under Conrad III., seemed to expect, and almost to desire, a collapse of both church and state, there breathes a spirit of freshness and vigor in proudly recording the national achievements of a powerful dynasty. Following the best models of classical antiquity, historiography now develops a purity of style, a skill in representation, an appreciation of events, and a political insight which mark its highest mediaeval development.

How great the change was is exemplified in Bishop Otto of Freising, now the foremost representative of the fresh national school, who in his earlier chronicle gives expression to the despondent, almost misanthropic, spirit that prevailed during the predominance of the high-church influence. Freed from the ban of such gloomy views, Otto now followed with intelligent delight the career of his nephew Frederick, who himself prompted the recording of his achievements by accompanying his acknowledgment of the receipt of the chronicle, in 1157, with a note giving a short sketch of his acts. This constituted the nucleus for the bishop's "*History of Frederick I.*" The first book gives a brief summary of the war of the investiture, with special reference to the Hohenstaufen house, and of the forms assumed by the relations between the emperor and the pope. The second brings the record of Frederick's deeds down to

the end of 1156, making free use of letters and documents, but sometimes based on personal observation. The whole is expressed in a pure and readable style, and shows lively sympathy with its subject. Subjectively truthful, Otto is, in consequence of his personal position, and the one-sided nature of the material supplied him by the imperial chancery, neither always correctly informed, nor unprejudiced in his judgments. After Otto's death, in 1158, his work was continued by his disciple and chaplain, Rahewin, known to us otherwise as a man of classical culture and a skilful poet, who added two books, bringing down the "History" to 1160. Instructed, like Otto, by communications from the chancery, as also from bishops who were sometimes eye-witnesses of what they report, he frequently enlivens his narrative with speeches, which he puts into the mouths of the principal personages. These speeches evidence painstaking study of the classic historians, from whom, according to mediæval usage, he borrows characteristic expressions, and even whole passages verbatim. Particularly noteworthy is the way in which he appropriates, almost word for word, whole sections from Josephus in depicting military scenes, as sieges, captures, battles, and the like. Otto of Freising's "*Chronicle*" was continued by Otto, a monk of St. Blasien, in the Black Forest, who with the use of special information, frequently communicated by persons taking part in the events, brought down the history of the kingdom, in loose annalistic form, to 1209, looking up with enthusiastic veneration to the nobly imposing figure of Henry VI. Especially instructive for Frederick's Italian wars are the records of a Bohemian cleric, Vincent of Prague, who was a chaplain in the suite of Bishop Daniel of Prague, when this prelate accompanied King Wladislaw to assist the emperor against Milan. He was, moreover, frequently directly employed by Frederick in Italian affairs, till he died of the Roman pest, in 1167.

Of special importance for Frederick's time are naturally the contemporary Italian records, especially city annals, and in particular those of the Lombard cities, where historiography had passed out of the hands of the clergy into those of laymen. In Lodi, which was consistently imperial, and therefore harshly treated by Milan, a citizen, — Otto Morena, — who in the times of Lothair and Conrad III. had found employment as a legate, wrote, about 1155, a history of the city, with constant reference to the general relations of Lombardy. He was followed therein by Acerbus Morena, employed in several capacities by Frederick, till he, too, succumbed to the epi-

demic, in 1167. The "Milanese Annals" represent the anti-imperial Lombardian standpoint, the older records being continued by various authors from 1154 to 1230. A detailed history of Genoa is contributed by a city official, a scion of the old Genoese burgher-house of Cafaro. Similar memoirs had their origin in Pisa; and in the Norman kingdom of South Italy, Archbishop Romoald of Salerno wrote

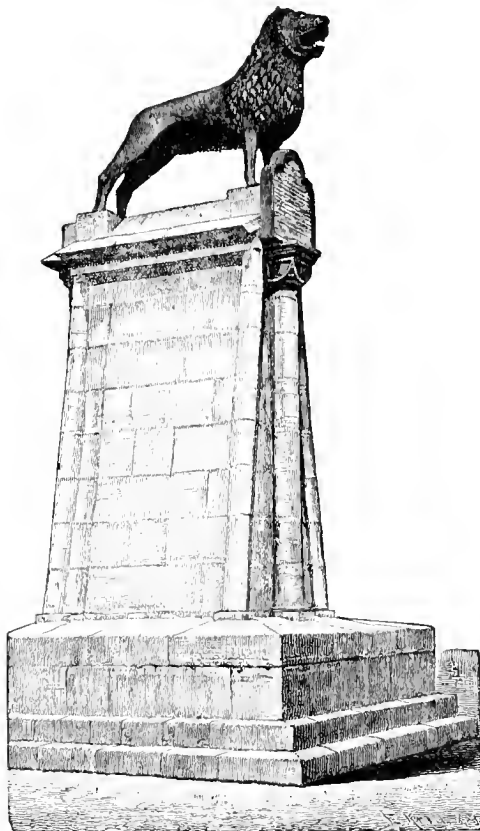


FIG. 64. — Bronze monument to Henry the Lion in Brunswick, 1166 A.D. The pedestal was erected in 1616. (From a photograph.)

annals which, from his position and participation in important affairs, are of high value. The biographies of Frederick's contemporaries on the papal chair,—Eugenius IV., Adrian IV., and Alexander III.,—though necessarily one-sided, are worthy of attention.

In North German, and especially in Saxon, history the powerful figure of Henry the Lion (Fig. 64) shows with special prominence. Such is eminently the ease in the continuation of the "Chronicle of

the Slavs." Valuable, also, are the annals of the abbeys of Pegau and of Pöhlde, which occasionally appeal to the reports of persons engaged in the transactions, and are, in their older portions, especially interesting as enabling us to observe the gradual infusion of legends into historical tradition.

For the history of Henry VI. and the contest for the throne between Philip of Swabia and Otto, the later sections of the above sources come into notice, and special local records of the same nature supplementing these, as, for example, the *Chronicle* of the Abbey of Lanterberg, near Halle, and the *Ursperg Chronicle* of Abbot Burkhard, both coming down to 1225. The latter has made use of an apparently very valuable, still undiscovered, work of John of Cremona upon Frederick I.

For the time of Frederick II., and the close of the Hohenstaufen period, when Germany loses in importance, and Italy comes to the front, we have to depend mainly on Italian sources. The history of Frederick II. and of his son, down to 1258, was written by Nicholas of Jamsilla from a strongly imperial standpoint; while his continuator, down to 1268, Saba Malaspina, belonged to the Guelfic party. A chronicle compiled in the Abbey of St. Justina, at Padua, defends the interests of the house of Este. For Upper Italy, the chronicle of the Minorite monk, Salimbene, belonging to the influential and pious school of Abbot Joachim of Fiore, is of main importance.

For this period of the empire's history documentary sources are more abundant than for the earlier times, and independent memoranda relative to important political transactions grow more and more copious. Of special importance are the papal mandates and letters. Especially for the time when the papacy was all-powerful over Christendom, and when the catastrophe of imperialism was preparing, we possess in the letters of Innocent III. material of incalculable value; our only regret being that so considerable a portion (four of the nineteen original books) is lost. In the Register of the same pope, of affairs relative to the empire, we have an official collection of instruments of still higher practical political importance. Finally we possess, under the title of "*The Deeds of Innocent III.*," a history of the first eleven years of his notable pontificate, compiled about 1220. This whole class of sources, having their origin in the Curia, has been materially augmented in quite recent times by a series of publications from the treasures of the Vatican

archives, now made available to literature and science, as the Register of Pope Honorius III., that of Innocent IV., etc. Of historically important collections of letters, there deserve to be named that of the letters of Peter di Vinea, grand-justiciary of Frederick II. The anti-imperial side is represented by Albert of Posseminster, called the Bohemian, successively proctor at the Roman Curia, and prebendary and archdeacon at Passau. Driven thence because an ardent papist, he worked, after 1239, as agent of the papal party in Germany, against Frederick. Commissioned by Gregory IX., he was unwearied in his efforts to bring about the fall of the hated dynasty, and falling into his enemy's hands, is supposed to have been grievously maltreated by way of retaliation. The note-book of this man, so deeply involved in the ecclesiastico-political conflicts of his time, has had a happier fate than its writer; and we have to thank it for the knowledge of a series of important instruments not to be found elsewhere.

## CHAPTER IX.

### FREDERICK I. BARBAROSSA.

(A.D. 1152-1190.)

WHEN Conrad, on his death-bed, recommended his nephew, Frederick (PLATE VI.), to the German princes as his successor, he openly avowed his policy to have been a failure. His embittered hostility to the Welfs, — against whom, despite all mis-carriages, he continually renewed the contest, — and his weak submissiveness to the church, were his main faults. In both respects a thorough change was required if things were to go better for the empire. The guaranty for this lay in the personal character and record of the candidate for the throne.

In the flower of his age, and plenitude of his strength, sound in mind and body, of frankly ingenuous eye, imbued with a noble aspiration for fame, and penetrated with an ardent feeling for the

#### <sup>1</sup> EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI.

Emperor Frederick I., Barbarossa. Dedicatory picture in a manuscript written near the end of the twelfth century. Vatican Library. (From v. Hefner-Alteneck.)

This manuscript, consisting of sixty-eight leaves in quarto, contains an account of the Crusade of Robert of St. Remy, and verses written for the Emperor Frederick by direction of Henry (died 1199, prior of the monastery of St. Dionysius at Schäftlarn, in Bavaria, in honor of the emperor as a crusader.

The picture represents the emperor, and at his left Prior Henry offering him the manuscript. We have here the only known portrait of Frederick made in his lifetime. He is represented as wearing the imperial crown, an imperial mantle, which is edged with a white fur, striped with blue, and caught in Roman fashion over the right shoulder by a brooch. Behind the emperor hangs the long triangular shield of the period. Upon the shield, as also upon the mant'e, the artist has painted a red cross referring to the emperor as a crusader, and as a protector of the church.

The inscription near the head reads: *Fridericus Romanus imperator. That on the back of the prior: Henriens praepositus dedicat.* On the margin above:

*Hic est depictus Romae Caesar Fridericus  
Signifer invictus, coelorum regis amicus.*

On the curved enclosing band, red and white letters alternating:

*Nulli pacificum Sarraceno Fridericum  
Dirigat iste liber ubi sit locus a nece liber.*

Outside the above:

*† Caesar magnificus pius augustus Fridericus  
De terra domini pellat gentem Saladin.*







rights of the state and the dignity of the monarchy, Frederick III., duke of Swabia, was qualified better than anyone else to become the herald of an era demanding a vigorous national policy, independent of the church, for the restoration of domestic peace and respect abroad. Frederick of Hohenstaufen was chosen king at Frankfort on March 5, 1152, by the unanimous voice of the princes, and crowned on the 9th at Aix-la-Chapelle. In May he held a diet in Merseberg, and mediated an agreement between Henry the Lion (with whom, unlike Conrad, he stood in amicable relations), and Albert the Bear, who were quarrelling over the succession of the Counts of Winzenburg and Plötzke. Duke Berthold of Zähringen had his claims on Western Burgundy recognized. The proclamation of a general peace imposed a check on the feuds afflicting the land, in particular Saxony; and the struggle for the throne of Denmark was settled in accordance with Frederick's arbitration, which confirmed Sweyn as king.

Still more clearly did the new spirit beginning to rule German politics manifest itself in the dealings with the Roman Curia. Frederick caused his accession to the throne to be announced not only to Pope Eugenius III., but also to the democratic senate then dominating Rome, and wrought thereby a surprising change in the attitude of the former. With the papal legates that appeared before him at Constance, in March, 1153, the young king concluded a compact by which he engaged not to make peace with Sicily without the consent of the pope, to bring Rome into subjection to him, and to guard the property of the Roman church. Eugenius, on his part, pledged himself to crown Frederick emperor when he came to Rome, and to smite his adversaries with the ban and interdict. Of the Concordat of Worms no notice seems to have been taken; but it was a clear advance that the agreement of Constance placed the state and church, the monarchy and the papacy, on the footing of equally legitimate powers. The church showed herself ready to be of service to the king by deposing certain prelates who had given him offence.

Yet his relations to the papacy were far from secure. Yielding, as it had done, to temporary necessity, it had no thought of renouncing its hierarchical pretensions. A quarrel, therefore, at once blazed forth when Frederick, bound by no obligation, asserted the ancient royal right in filling the German bishoprics. Archbishop Frederick of Magdeburg had died a few days before Conrad III.; and, in con-

sequence of discord in the cathedral chapter, the result was a dual election. In providing for such an emergency the Concordat of Worms decreed that the king should consult the metropolitan and other bishops of the diocese, and see that the office was filled in accordance with the decision of the party found by them to be in the right. In contradistinction to this, an interpolated reading of the Concordat had been early put into circulation by the imperialists, according to which, in the case of a dual election, the king himself should decide, and, with assent of the princes, appoint the candidate agreeable to him, who might easily be neither of the two chosen by the chapter. On the strength of this forgery (which at this time was not recognized as such), Frederick intervened in the Magdeburg complications, and, with the approval of the princes, rejected both the nominees, and appointed Bishop Wichmann of Zeitz as temporary archbishop. Secure in his monarch's favor, this prelate made such use of his time there as to win a body of adherents, and in a new election he was himself called to the archiepiscopal throne. The interposition of the Roman Curia was unavailing, for the king's cause was taken energetically up by the German episcopate. In the course of the controversy Eugenius died: and his successor, Anastasius IV. (1153-1154), hard beset by the Roman revolt, in his desire to avoid a breach with Frederick, ultimately acquiesced in Wichmann's elevation. This transaction bore witness to the greatness of the change which had taken place in Germany. Even the clergy, inspired by national feeling, boldly opposed the pretensions of the hierarchy. And therein lay the strength of the Hohenstaufen monarchy. Like that of the Ottos, it rested essentially on its alliance with the German episcopate.

The lay princes also rallied as one man around their king. This end was largely attained by undoing the wrong that Conrad III. in union with the church had, for his own ends, inflicted on the house of Welf, thereby driving it into an opposition fatal to the peace of the kingdom. Naturally, however, Henry of Austria declined to restore Bavaria, which the king forthwith required him to do. On the other hand, Frederick on his accession had made definite promises to Henry the Lion, which must be fulfilled before he could reckon on the co-operation of the Welfs in the execution of his great designs. In a diet held at Goslar, in the summer of 1154, he procured a decision of the princes in favor of Henry the Lion's right to Bavaria. But its enforcement was not yet possible.

Therefore, to appease the Saxon duke, and to insure his participation in the expedition for securing the imperial crown, Frederick surrendered to him the right of investiture in the newly acquired Slavie bishopric beyond the Elbe: thus conferring on him an ecclesiastical precedence, which it was not within the king's competence to grant. But, above all, it was essential to revive the forgotten rights of the empire in Italy. At the diet of Constance, envoys from Lodi had begged for help against the proud and violent Milan; but Frederick's envoys despatched to the arrogant city were insultingly rebuffed. The Roman Curia also renewed its cry for help. Eugenius III., again compelled to retire before the victorious revolution, pressed for the fulfilment of the compact of Constance; and this the more particularly because he was seriously threatened in the south by King Roger II. of Sicily. His successor, Pope Anastasius IV., also found himself in similar straits: so Frederick decided on an expedition into Italy in the autumn of 1154. Crossing the Alps with only 1800 knights, he traversed Upper Italy unimpeded. Milan remained obdurate, and defied the king. As Frederick (Fig. 65) felt too weak to attack this populous and strongly fortified city, he had to content himself with demolishing a number of strongholds in the district pertaining to it. But by the adhesion of cities hostile to Milan, especially of Lodi, Pavia, and Como, a beginning was made of the organization of an imperial party. A tedious conflict ensued around the walls of Tortona, which was taken and destroyed, Easter, 1155.

This effected, Frederick advanced on Rome. Anastasius's successor, the Englishman, Adrian IV. (1154-1159), had checked the revolutionary movement in the city by means of an interdict; but in the south William I. of Sicily carried out with success the policy of conquest of Roger II. Nevertheless, Adrian did not throw himself blindly into the arms of the German king, but fully reciprocated his suspicion. Not till after long negotiations did they arrive at an agreement renewing the compact of Constance. And even then,



FIG. 65. — Bracteate with equestrian figure of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Size of original. (Berlin.)

when the two met, June 11, at Nepi, Adrian took offence because the monarch omitted to hold his stirrup when he dismounted from his palfrey. Afterwards, however, Frederick was persuaded that the formality was one of ancient usage; and the quarrel was made up, the two chiefs of Christendom journeying together to Rome, before which they arrived June 17. Meanwhile Frederick had not



FIG. 66. — Seal of Emperor Frederick I. The emperor sits upon a throne, the back of which is constructed of an archway decorated with head moulding between two posts terminating with balls. From his pointed crown hang down bands set with pearls. His cloak, tunic, and belt are adorned with jewels. In his right hand a sceptre terminating in a *fleur de lys*; in his left hand the imperial globe and cross. Legend: † FREDERIC DEI GRA ROMANOR. IMPERTOR AVGS. (From an impression in the British Museum.)

only rudely repulsed a deputation of the Roman senate who invited him to accept the crown at their hands, but had given Adrian a further guaranty for his loyalty by causing the reformer Arnold of Brescia to be delivered up by his protectors to the papal city-prefect, who had him strangled and burnt as a heretic. As, on this account, the Romans refused to open their city gates, the Leonine city and St. Peter's were early on the 18th seized by the Germans,

and Frederick crowned (Fig. 66), under the protection of their arms, by the pope. An attack on Rome itself, however, could not be undertaken by the little imperial army. Against the Normans Frederick would willingly have marched, but the princes refused to accompany him. There was, therefore, nothing left him but to retreat. With the emperor's withdrawal, Adrian saw all the hopes he had placed on his alliance blighted. Rome was neither reduced nor the States of the Church secured against the Normans. Nor had Frederick gained either prestige or power.

Meanwhile, in Germany the opposition of the princes had not remained inactive. The emperor's return, however, restrained them from further operations. At a diet of the empire held at Ratisbon, in September, 1158, arrangements were made to settle the dispute between the houses of Welf and Austria. Henry the Lion (Fig.

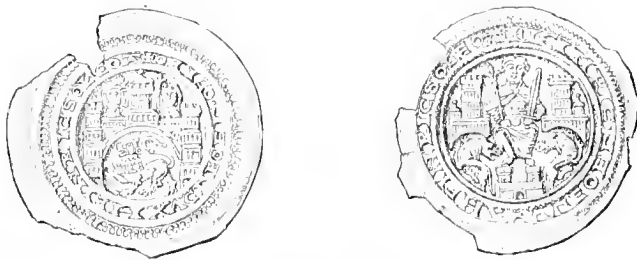


FIG. 67. — Two bracteates of Henry the Lion. Silver. The legend of each is HEINRICVS LEO DVX. The other letters are without meaning, and were inserted only to fill vacant spaces. Size of original. (Berlin.)

67) received the duchy of Bavaria, and, in return, surrendered the lands between the Inn and the Ems to the margraviate of Austria, which was raised to a duchy, to be hereditary in the house of Babenberg, and invested with unusual prerogatives. In case of the failure of male heirs, the female should succeed; and in the event of there being no direct heir, the last duke could dispose of the territory by testament. Besides this, Austria was released from most of its obligations to the empire. Its duke was endowed with full judicial powers, required to attend diets of the empire only when held in Bavaria, and to contribute a military force only to campaigns conducted in lands adjoining his own. This measure operated injuriously, inasmuch as the other princes aspired to similar privileges.

In the East, Frederick restored the prestige of the empire by a

successful campaign against the Poles in the summer of 1157, by which he re-established the suzerainty of Germany. With Duke Wladislaw of Bohemia he made a treaty, early in 1158, by which the latter, in consideration of his effective help against Milan, succeeded in having himself crowned king. The ideal constantly before Frederick's eyes was the revival of the imperial power. The indispensable condition for this was the recovery of Italy, which for twenty years had been practically independent. His wish, therefore, to effect this outweighed all else; and he was strengthened in this by the change which came in his relations to the Roman Curia.

Pope Adrian, who had seen his hopes disappointed, went his own way, irrespective of the compact of Constance, and came thereby into immediate conflict with the emperor. Despite the sad experiences that some of his predecessors had met in similar attempts, he took the field, in alliance with the insurgent nobles of Apulia, against King William I. of Sicily, and was, along with his cardinals, shut up by the Normans in Benevento. In the peace extorted from him he was compelled to set William free from the ban, and, in consideration of a yearly tribute, to grant him Apulia, Capua, and Sicily in fee, thus not only restoring the Norman power, but making it legitimate. Through this feudal alliance the relation which had existed between Gregory VII. and Robert Guiscard was renewed. The papacy went again over to the enemy's camp, and allied itself offensively and defensively with a power which must seek, at any price, to prevent the revival of German ascendancy in Italy. A significant prelude was enacted at the diet held by the emperor at Besançon in the autumn of 1157, at which Cardinal Roland, the chancellor of the Romish church, was present as the bearer of a papal letter demanding the removal of certain alleged grievances. In the letter a purposely ambiguous expression was used, describing the coronation as a *'beneficium'* conferred by the pope on Frederick. Now, the word *'beneficium'* could mean either a benefit or a fief, and in the latter sense gave expression of the papalistic conception of the coronation of Lothair. When Reinald of Dassel, the imperial chancellor, interpreted the word in the latter sense, a storm of indignation arose. When the cardinal, in reply, put the defiant question, "From whom, then, does the emperor hold his crown, if not from the pope?" a tumult ensued, and the papal envoys had to leave the empire immediately to save their lives. A virulent interchange of letters between emperor and pope ensued. When Frederick armed with



all energy for the campaign against Milan, while his plenipotentiaries appeared in Upper Italy, and met with eminent success in organizing the imperial party, and asserting the rights of the empire. Adrian deemed it expedient to change his tone, and to conciliate the emperor by excuses and explanations. The ambiguous word was not to be understood in the sense objected to: the Curia would never have thought of claiming the imperial crown as a lie of St. Peter. In this second conflict with the papacy Frederick was again the victor. All the greater was the anxiety, and the more embittered the spirit, with which Rome watched the progress of the campaign against Milan.

The cities of Lombardy were in the most flourishing condition. Resorted to as cities of refuge by the people in the country around them at the period of the fall of the Carolingian empire, their population had largely increased. Then the royal rights came largely into the hands of the spiritual heads of the cities. Under the aegis of this episcopal supremacy civic freedom grew in strength during the eleventh century, while the classes hitherto only outwardly united—the warlike nobles and the industrious citizens—gradually coalesced into one great community, whose common interests were represented by a college composed of judicial officers chosen out of the several estates or guilds. Gradually caste distinctions disappeared,—even that of free and unfree became forgotten,—and each man had to depend for his position on his individual ability. At the head of the city community stood the college of consuls, as they were now called, whose functions were no longer merely judicial, but rather administrative, and frequently military. Within the community there came in course of time a new distinction in accordance with callings. The military and civic offices, especially the consulships, were nearly exclusively in the hands of the native city nobility, so that it gradually developed into a new civic aristocracy; while the various branches of industry fell to the other citizens. The prerogatives which had belonged to the king or bishop the city gradually acquired for itself, mainly in a peaceful way, during the war of the investiture. But in certain cases they were won by violent revolts, without, however, the new order receiving express recognition from the empire at whose expense it took form. It was simply the result of a historical development, which the communities that had attained to fuller freedom and self-government regarded as consistent with right, and as the guaranty of their

prosperity. With modifications in detail, due to the circumstances peculiar to the several cities, the Lombard civic constitution had now so shaped itself that at the head there stood a college of consuls whose number was proportional to the size of the city. Co-ordinate with this was a committee of citizens, or city council; and on exceptional occasions the whole body of the citizens was called on to meet in a popular assembly, or parliament as it was termed.

But notwithstanding their close identity in development and constitution, the Lombard cities were held apart by violent party differences, the larger and more important towns striving to make the smaller and weaker ones dependent, and to win a pre-eminent position for themselves. This was especially the case with Milan, which no city rivalled in population, wealth, and military prowess, and which, from its ecclesiastical importance, was the intellectual and political centre of all Lombardy. For years it had striven for the hegemony over the other Upper Italian cities. From the first the Milanese had been inimical to Frederick I., and had not only rebuilt the demolished Tortona, in 1154–1155, but had, in 1158, destroyed Lodi, which was imperialist. Even now Milan did not think of submission. Confident in the strength of her fortifications, she resolved to bid defiance to Frederick's impending attack.

On Whitsunday, 1158, Frederick, entering Italy over the Brenner Pass, arrived without hindrance in the plains. Crossing the Adda, he invaded the Milanese territory, laying it waste, and soon appeared before the city. Within four weeks it surrendered (September 7), and submitted to the emperor's conditions. In the belief that he had attained his end, Frederick dismissed the princes of the empire, while he himself contemplated the reorganization of Upper Italy, through a great diet to be held in his stately camp in the plain of Roncaglia, in the middle of November, 1158, to which he invited the princes, lay and spiritual, as well as the consuls of the cities. The diet met, as purposed; and the first matter considered was the rights—the so-called 'regalia'—formerly appertaining to the king, but now withheld from him, and especially his financial prerogatives. Among these was found the right of appointing a governor and consuls for the cities. On the list of the regalia being submitted to the diet, it acknowledged their legality; and the assembly separated in concord, after proclaiming a 'general peace.' In point of fact, men were very far from being in accord, each party interpreting the decisions arrived at in his own way. On the imperial side an increase of

revenue was expected to the yearly amount of 30,000 silver marks (nearly \$300,000). Such a sum, unprecedented for the time, placed at Frederick's direct disposal, would have made him independent of the princes, and enabled him to set in the field a military force that would have seriously menaced Apulia and Sicily, and brought the independence of the papacy into question. Holding a position of such power in Upper Italy, Frederick might, with unwonted prospect of success, have repeated the attempt to revive the world-wide sway of the empire.

But the decrees of Roncaglia were found incapable of execution. The dissimilarity in the treatment of the cities had already exasperated many minds against them. Cities loyal to the emperor, like Pavia, Como, and Lodi, continued in the enjoyment of their republican self-government through consuls, — although the choice of these had never been expressly conceded them, — while those adhering to the national party forfeited their consular constitutions, and their mayors were henceforth to be nominated by the emperor.

When the Chancellor Reinald of Dassel and the Count Palatine Otto of Wittelsbach appeared at Milan in February, 1159, and demanded for the emperor the right of nominating consuls, the citizens resisted indignantly, maintaining that the capitulation compact of September, 1158, had left them the right of choosing their consuls, and conferred that of confirmation only on the emperor. When the envoys declared this so-called right invalidated by the resolutions of Roncaglia, the indignation of the people was roused to such a pitch that the emissaries had to flee from the city at night. From this time on the chancellor cherished the most deadly hatred towards the Milanese.

Simultaneously with this new rising in Milan, a bitter conflict broke forth between Frederick and Adrian IV. How much the former regarded his position strengthened through the resolutions of Roncaglia appears from the manner in which he met the church. He now placed himself on the ground hitherto taken by the Curia in regard to the Concordat of Worms, namely, that it was a personal compact between Henry V. and Calixtus II., and therefore in no way binding on him. Consequently, he exercised the prerogative practically belonging to the German kings before the Concordat, i.e., that of nominating new bishops to vacant sees. Even in Italy he endeavored to introduce this practice, and of his own authority seated Count Guido of Blandrate on the archiepiscopal throne of Ravenna.

He struck the Curia a still heavier blow by conferring on his uncle, Duke Welf VI., the heritage of Matilda of Tuscany, entirely ignoring the title of the church to these through the acknowledgment of Lothair II. The acrimonious correspondence which ensued thereupon gave expression with increased emphasis to the antagonism between the empire and the papacy. Adrian soon stood in secret alliance with Milan, which now openly appealed to force: and about Easter, 1159, its forces took by surprise the important stronghold of Trezzo. Crema refused to separate herself from Milan, and raze her fortifications. For its chastisement Frederick called on the Lombards that remained true to him and on the German princes for reinforcements. Milan was put under the ban of the empire. The quarrel with the Curia also now came to a head. In the course of the angry interchange of notes, Adrian demanded that the emperor should be satisfied with the bishops' oath of fealty, as military service was inconsistent with their churchly offices. Frederick rejoined that the pope himself was his vassal. Adrian, in return, now demanded his renunciation of all service from the Italian church, with the solitary exception of *foftrum*; that is, of maintenance for his army when on its route to the imperial coronation. Frederick retorted that the Italian bishops must either renounce their royal privileges or fulfil the military and all other duties incumbent on them. On both sides the Concordat of Worms was completely ignored. An open rupture seemed imminent. Adrian, on his part, entered into alliance with the insurgent cities, — Milan, Brescia, and Piacenza, — on condition that neither party should conclude peace with the emperor without the other. He likewise called on William of Sicily to defend the church, sending him the banner of St. Peter, and made preparations for pronouncing the anathema on Frederick. The latter entered into close relations with the democratic senate of the Eternal City, whose friendship could now be of high value to him. At this moment Adrian IV. died, on September 1, 1159. Frederick, who was investing the desperately defended Crema (cf. Figs. 68, 69),<sup>1</sup> de-

<sup>1</sup> EXPLANATION OF FIGS. 68 AND 69.

The hut-like building in the foreground is the 'Cat.' Its object was to protect men engaged in filling up the moat. It was moved over hurdles, bundles of fagots, etc., which were thrown down in front of it from within. It rested upon a platform of planks to prevent its coming to a stand; and its roof was covered with wet skins, as a protection against fire. The small recess in front, the palisades, and the screens, mounted on a single axle in the foreground, served to protect the assailants in their preparations. The 'Cat' was propelled by cables, block and pulley, and windlasses; and when finally it was brought against the face of the wall, the undermining of the

terminated to utilize this unexpected piece of good fortune by forcing a docile head on the church, and thus winning all at one stroke. But in this he was only partially successful; for, amid tumult and wild disorder in Rome, a dual election followed. The small imperial party, through open violence, set up Cardinal Octavianus as Victor IV., in opposition to Alexander III., formerly Chancellor Roland, who was legally elected by the hierarchical majority of the cardinals. But, although the former found recognition nowhere outside the circle of the imperial partisans, Frederick maintained his right, as successor of Constantine, Justinian, and Charlemagne, to put an end to the schism through the verdict of a council called and dominated by himself. In opposition to this, Alexander took the field as the defender of the freedom of the church, and in so doing gained enthusiastic sympathy far and wide, and made Frederick appear as the champion of a despotism menacing alike to the civic freedom and the church.

When Crema was, after a desperate resistance, destroyed, in January, 1160, the long-announced council was held in Pavia. Alexander III. naturally neither appeared at it nor recognized it. In point of fact it was purely partisan, attended by imperialist clerics alone.

fortification would begin, and, protected by it, the battering ram would be brought into effective use.

The covered passage-way along the top of the wall is threatened by the discharge from the large machines for slinging huge stones, three of which are here figured in different stages of action. In the nearer one the machine is soon to discharge, a man putting on the load, which he has probably taken from the supply at his right. The operators of this machine are protected by the archers behind the adjacent screens from the bowmen within the walls. The slinging-machines in the distance hurl fiery substances, which are designed to set on fire the passage-ways on the wall.

The beleaguered city is defended by two similar machines.

The chief instrument, however, of the attack is the large moving tower at the right. Like the 'Cat,' it is covered with wet skins, and is propelled by cables, block and pulley, and windlass. At the top is a drawbridge swung by chains; below, in front, a protecting roof like that of the 'Cat'; at the back, ladders. It rests upon a broad platform of oaken planks, and is moved forward as fast as the path is made ready for it.

The garrison of the city strive to prevent the advance of their enemies by showers of arrows and attempts to set on fire their engines of war, not to speak of nightly forays. But their fate cannot long be deferred. So soon as the storming-tower is brought against the city wall, the decisive conflict must ensue.

The last scene is depicted in the second cut. From the tower, brought close to the wall, is evidently dropped the huge drawbridge; and a band of chosen knights rushes forward into the city, while others, by means of the ladders, hasten after them to the top of the tower.

If the beleaguered cannot repel their assailants, as a last resort they must betake themselves to the two strong towers, which can be captured only after special efforts, since the stairs which lead into them are within the towers themselves, and can be easily defended.

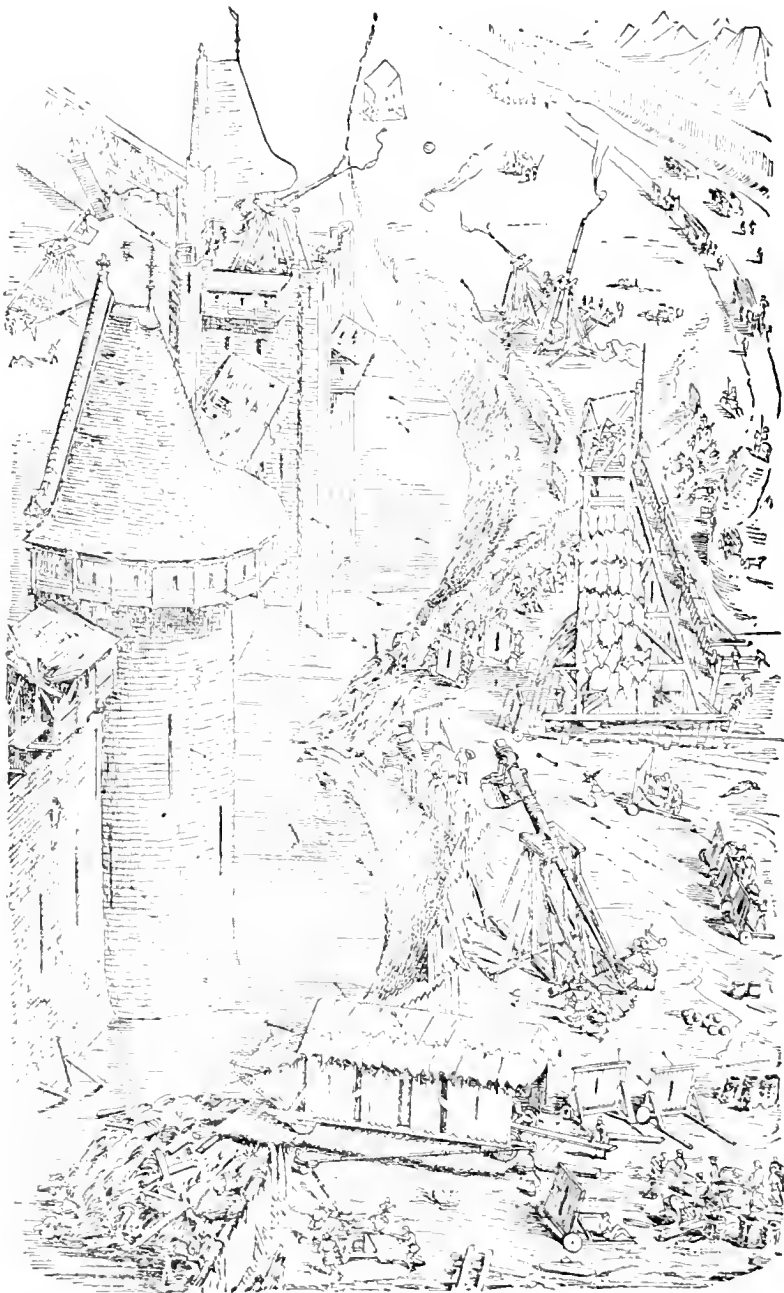


FIG. 68. A fortified city wall of the Twelfth Century as attacked and defended.  
See p. 152. (From Viollet-le-Duc.)

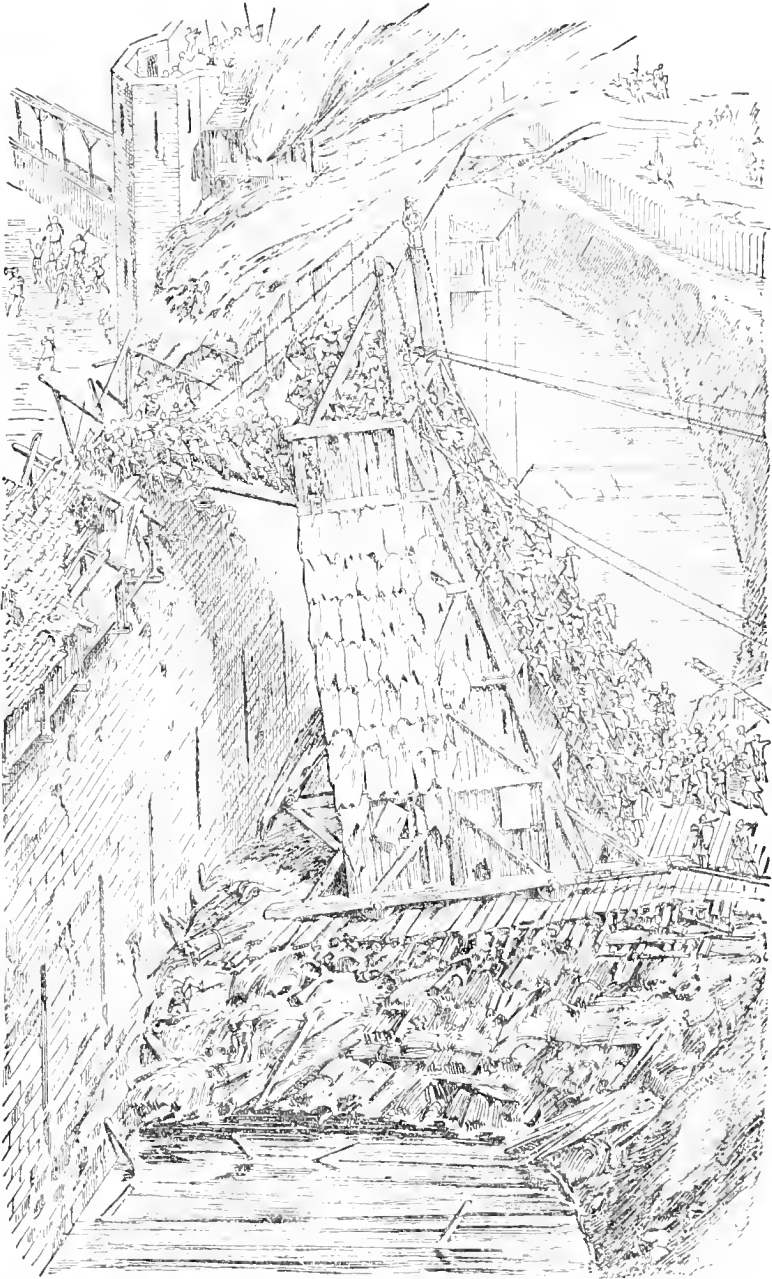


FIG. 69. — A fortified city wall of the Twelfth Century as attacked and defended.  
See p. 152. (From Viollet-le-Duc.)

The whole so-called council was a farce, as appears from the records, which show that even forgery was resorted to, to swell the number of bishops present. The proclamation of Victor IV. as legitimate was only a piece of bravado. The church now brought all her batteries to bear upon Frederick. In February, 1160, Archbishop Othert of Milan pronounced the ban upon him. On Maundy-Thurs-day, Alexander III., at Anagni, expelled him from the community of the church. But the weapons which of yore could smite Henry IV. to the earth had now lost their efficacy. Of the princes of Germany, whether temporal or spiritual, not one thought of renouncing allegiance to the emperor because he was an excommunicate. Elsewhere the whole church, especially the churches of France and England, took from the beginning the side of Alexander, and renounced all intercourse with the imperialist anti-pope.

For Frederick himself his conflict with the hierarchy took for the next two years a secondary place, as compared with his anxiety for the subjugation of Milan. The extent of the city, with the strength of its fortifications, and the bravery and resolution of its numerous citizens, made a regular siege impossible. To overcome its resistance, the emperor, re-enforced from Germany, chose the more tedious process of a blockade. After repeatedly, and far and wide, wasting the country from which it could draw supplies, he caused castles to be erected at the crossings of all roads leading to Milan, whose garrisons not only kept strict watch to prevent all intercourse with the doomed place, but were unwearied in their labors in converting the whole district into a desert. Frederick himself is said to have vowed not to move from the spot till Milan was reduced.

At length, toward the end of the second year of the blockade, the city's power of resistance weakened. Hunger asserted its powerful claim, and with this came the discord of parties. Some called on the Italian magnates within the imperial camp to mediate: but negotiations with them were broken off, to be resumed only when the imprisoned citizens became convinced of the impossibility of further resistance. The emperor insisted on unconditional surrender; and on March 1, 1162, the hard condition was agreed to. Milan lay at the feet of its conqueror; and he, at the counsel of the irreconcilable Reinald of Dassel, — now elevated to the archbishopric of Cologne, — caused the unhappy city to be terribly humiliated. On March 4 the citizens made their submission. On March 6, to complete the act of unconditional submission, the great mass of the



people, miserable and woe-worn, appeared before the emperor with all the signs of contrition. Next day the whole community took the oath to the imperial commissioners, by which they pledged themselves to unquestioning obedience to every order. Not till twelve days thereafter was their woful doom announced to them. Within a week they were to evacuate the city, and, moving towards the four points of the compass, settle themselves in four open places, apart from each other, and distant several miles from Milan. The emperor gave over the city to the Lombard imperialists for demolition. Between March 26 and April 8 they accomplished their work by razing the walls and filling up the ditches, so that Milan was open to the entrance of an enemy at any moment. They also cast fire into the houses, which rapidly consumed the masses of wooden structures, and even the churches were in part reduced to ruins. Only the venerated church of St. Ambrose, in the suburbs, entirely escaped destruction. Milan was a depopulated and undefended heap of ruins.

Everything now submitted to the emperor. No one dared longer to resist a potentate so unrelenting in his vengeance. Lombardy lay fettered at the feet of its master. Only the cities friendly to the emperor retained their consuls and their republican autonomy. All others were under imperial administrators, armed with dictatorial powers (*podestas*), frequently Germans or men of hostile cities. Lombard freedom seemed abrogated, and, to a degree far beyond that contemplated in the resolution of Roncaglia, Frederick was lord of the land and its inexhaustible riches.

The doom of the church, too, seemed pronounced. About the time of the demolition of Milan, Alexander III. fled by sea to Genoa, and thence to Southern France, where he met with an enthusiastic reception. But Louis VII. had been half insnared by the machinations of the imperialist party, — especially of Frederick's friend, Count Henry of Champagne, — and consented to a Franco-German council before which he promised to place Alexander for judgment. Only to Henry II. of England was the pontiff indebted for the frustration of this project. He kept the wavering French king true to the legitimate pope; and the council, which Frederick, on his way home to Germany, had come to the Franco-Burgundian frontier to attend, was never held. In lieu of it, the emperor, supported by the numerous German princes who had made their appearance there, held a combined diet and council at Besançon, and caused a new political system to be promulgated, whose realization implied a power quite

different from that which he possessed. In this Henry of England and Louis of France were spoken of as petty provincial princes, who, unmindful of their duty, had not responded to the imperial summons, but who dared to maintain in the imperial city of Rome a pope repudiated by the emperor, who was resolved to decide the matter without regard to them. The manifesto read, indeed, as if England and France were provinces of the empire, the pope a mere archbishop dependent on the emperor, and the schism a matter to be decided by himself alone,—a short way of settling the whole contro-



FIG. 70. Golden Bulla of Emperor Frederick I. Affixed to the charter dated Würzburg June 26, 1168, conferring ducal power to the Bishop of Würzburg. Obv.: Bust of the emperor behind a solid portal with three towers; he wears a crown with pendent bands set with pearls; in his right hand, a sceptre capped by a fleur-de-lis; in his left, the imperial globe and cross. Legend: † FREDERIC · DEI · GR · A · ROMANORV · IMPERATOR · AVGS. Rev: Portal with seven towers, surrounded by a wall; between the battlements of the central high tower AVREA; in the doorway, ROMA. Legend: † ROMA · CAPVT · MVNDI · REGIT · ORBIS · FRENA · ROTVNDI. (From Heffner.)

versy in favor of the docile Victor IV. The claims of the imperial policy became altogether inordinate.

The signs of a reaction against imperial despotism multiplied themselves. The vigorous opposition of France and England made the ultimate success of Victor IV. impossible. Italy grew more and more hostile to the emperor under the tyrannical rule of his lieutenant, Archbishop Reinald of Cologne. On the death of Victor, in April, 1161, Reinald, as if to preclude the possibility of a reconciliation, caused the facile Guido of Cremona to be elevated to the apos-

tolie chair in the most illegal way, under the title of Paschal III. In the winter of 1163-1164, Verona, Padua, Treviso, Vicenza, and other towns of the Mark of Verona, with Venice, made a secret treaty against Frederick. In the spring of 1164 they took up arms against him. The Byzantine Empire, France, England, Sicily, all were almost openly hostile : and there was much disaffection even in Germany, as many felt that the emperor's conduct was too high-handed, and likely ultimately to prove submersive of all liberty. Nevertheless, Frederick, after indicating his own conception of his mission, by exhuming and magnificently reintering the corpse of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle (Christmas, 1165), pushed his preparations for a grand expedition to Italy that should overwhelm all his antagonists.

In the autumn of 1166, therefore, the emperor for the third time led an expedition across the Alps. But only a few of the princes of the empire accompanied him. The conditions he found in maltreated Lombardy should have admonished Frederick to the utmost circumspection. In Lodi he was once more assailed by the prayers of the Milanese for some mitigation of their lot. With unfortunate harshness he refused to listen to them. Bergamo and Brescia were severely punished for new attempts at revolt. Nevertheless, when Frederick (Fig. 71), in the spring of 1167, moved farther south, he left the land in a threatening state of ferment. He had not, indeed, well turned his back when the storm broke loose. In March, 1167, Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, and Mantua entered into a confederation, not only for mutual protection, but also for the mediation of an equitable peace between the church and the empire, to both of which they wished to remain loyal, although they had also in view the restoration of the consulate. But this presupposed the abrogation of the decrees of Roncaglia, and to that the emperor would never give his consent. His stubbornness was proved by the increased harshness of the imperial officials, the sufferings of the much abused Milanese being now becoming intolerable under the barbarous Count Henry of Dietz. The four cities went a step farther. On April 4, they met with Milanese commissioners in Cremona. The ancient mutual hostility was solemnly renounced, and a confederacy for fifty years resolved on, with Cremona as its capital, to which Ferrara gave in its adhesion. The first act of the league was to bring the Milanese back to their city, and to restore the metropolis of Lombardy. Under the protection of the armies of

the allied cities this took place on April 27. The movement spread rapidly. Piacenza joined of its own accord, and Lodi by compulsion. Hand in hand with this the reaction went on in favor of Alexander, while everywhere the schismatic bishops had to give way.

Frederick let all this pass unmolested, his obvious conviction being that the subjugation of Alexander in Rome must decide the struggle in the north also. After a hot struggle, in which St. Peter's itself suffered injury, the imperialists stormed the Leonine

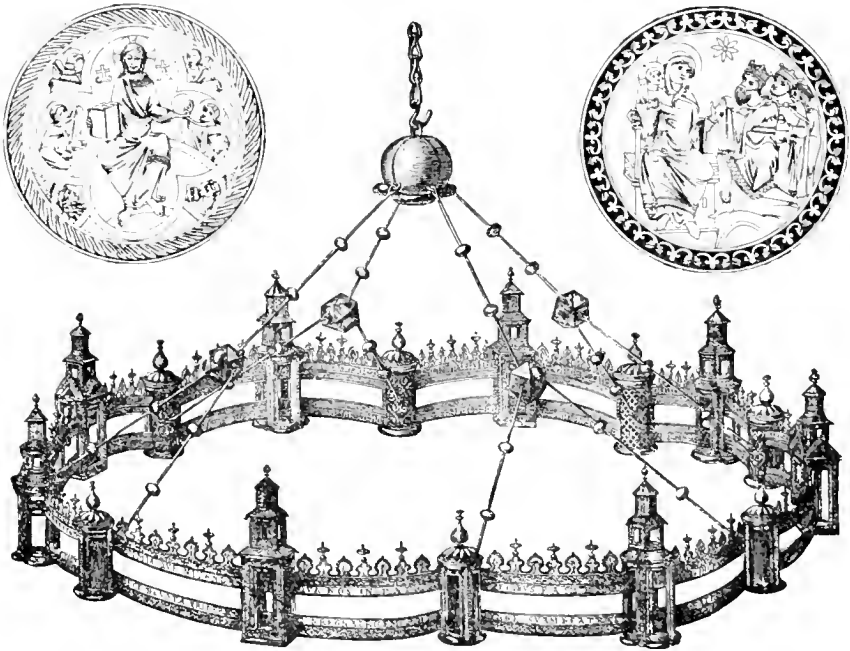


FIG. 71. — Chandelier. Votive gift of Emperor Frederick I. to the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. Each of the little towers once held objects with scenes in repoussée work, like the two medallions, which have been for the most part lost. (From Bock and Förster.)

city, the pope shutting himself up in the Castle of St. Angelo. The success of Frederick's arms determined the Romans to negotiate; and an agreement was come to, that both the popes should abdicate, and the cardinals hold a new election. This Alexander could not accede to; and he fled secretly to the protection of the young Norman king, William II. The Romans now submitted to the imperialist pope, and opened their gates. On August 1, 1167, Frederick received the imperial crown from the hands of Paschal

III., while his commissioners accepted the oath of fealty from the Romans. Then a fearful catastrophe burst upon the imperial army. An epidemic spread with frightful rapidity, and struck the army with panic. The Germans fled as if in rout; but go where they might, the unseen enemy followed, and smote down by the wayside high and low impartially. The bishops of Prague, Ratisbon, and Spire, and even the vigorous Reinald of Cologne, fell victims to the malady. The emperor, with the demoralized remnants of his army, barely escaped the host of the allied cities, and took refuge behind the walls of the faithful Pavia. He immediately renewed his war against the insurgents, and, further away than ever from any thought of compromise, outlawed them on September 21.

For Frederick had no suspicion of the moral effect produced on friend and foe alike by the calamity of the pestilence, but thought himself strong enough both to overthrow the hierarchical papacy and to stamp out Lombardy's civic liberties. Yet it was to be his fate to have to submit to failure in both these objects after ten years of arduous conflict. The first step of his hitherto divided enemies was now to unify themselves. On December 1, 1167, the Cremonese league, and those of Verona and Venice, coalesced into one Lombard League. In the spring of 1168, this body erected, in the swampy region between the Tanaro and the Trebia, the common fortress of Alessandria,—so naming it in honor of the pope,—and fortified it by powerful earthworks. In vain did Frederick struggle, with Pavia as his headquarters, to maintain his position with the small force at his disposal.

Besides, he had no help to look for from Germany: for there, too, disorganization and disorders were rampant. For this, the obstinacy, with which he repudiated any understanding whatever with Alexander, was mainly to blame. When Paschal III. died in September, 1168, he caused a new anti-pope to be set up with the title of Calixtus III., to whom even the most compliant of the German prelates hesitated to yield obedience. Alexander gave the Lombard League religious consecration, and took it under the protection of the church. The emperor's attempt to bring Henry of England over to his side also miscarried.

Under these circumstances the immediate reduction of Lombardy was impossible. To effect this it was necessary to secure the means in Germany. Thither, then, Frederick betook himself in the autumn

of 1170. He left Italy as a fugitive, indeed, but with unbroken spirit and deadly hatred in his heart, and resolved to exact frightful vengeance. The Lombard League was now fully free. Even the most faithful adherents of the emperor had to bow before it, and purchase safety by temporary and unwilling accession to it. Pavia was compelled to join it.

The next four years were spent by Frederick in preparing for a new expedition to Italy. The internal affairs of Germany, indeed, required more attention than he found time to give them. The Alexandrian and imperialist bishops were at constant strife. But the most dangerous feature of the situation was the overgrown



FIG. 72. Bracteate of Albert the Bear, son of Otto I., Margrave of Brandenburg (1170-1184). Silver. In the field the margrave in armor with banner and shield. Oldest extant coin with German inscription. Legend: MARGRAVE OTTO.

power of Henry the Lion in the north. Endowed by Frederick with really royal privileges in order to secure his support, he had made Saxony a kingdom in all but name, and extended his power vastly at the expense of Danes and Slavs. Since 1166 engaged in deadly feud with Albert the Bear, of Brandenburg (cf. Fig. 72), and other lay and spiritual princes, the intervention of the emperor, and his own pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1172, were far from putting an end to his ambitious views.

Frederick again invaded Italy in the autumn of 1174, and, after destroying Susa, invested Alessandria. The siege continued through the winter without result. In the spring, on the proposition of the Lombards, a preliminary treaty of peace, in the nature of a compromise, was arranged at Montebello. Both parties disbanded

their troops. Ultimately, however, the negotiations fell through. The emperor summoned his vassals to join him in Italy in the spring of 1176 for a new campaign. They responded readily for the most part; but Henry the Lion refused his assistance, alleging as an excuse the necessities of his dukedom. On May 29, 1176, the imperial levies, 12,000 strong, led by Frederick in person, met the Milanese and their allies at Legnano. After a terrible hand-to-hand struggle the day was decided against the Germans, of whom only a few escaped to Pavia. The emperor — whom all believed to have perished — was fortunately rescued, and appeared there in the following night.

Frederick now began at length to see the necessity of an accommodation. He entered upon negotiations with the allies. In April, 1177, the combatants and their delegates met at Venice. On the twenty-first of July, Frederick agreed to a truce of six years with the Lombards, and of fifteen years with Sicily.

Three days afterwards, when released from the ban, he entered Venice, where he was impressively received. There, in the midst of a numerous and brilliant circle of princes, lay and spiritual, he entered into friendly relations with the pontiff, against whom he had warred for almost twenty years. But to the peace, which was only a compromise, the zealots on both sides made many objections. Moderate men, however, could well be content with the attempt made, in keeping with the provisions of the Concordat of Worms, to separate the conflicting domains of church and state so as to make harmony possible. With the single exception of Gero of Halberstadt, the schismatic bishops in Germany were all confirmed; the fate of the Italian bishops was left to the decision of Alexander III. The question of the Matildan lands was reserved for future arbitration.

Thus the great ecclesiastico-political struggle was at length brought to a close. But this time also only an armistice had been made. The agreement with the Lombards, which left them their liberties, was to be short-lived. In six years the struggle might be renewed. With this in view, it was essential for Frederick to reconfirm the shaky foundations of the Hohenstaufen monarchy. This had rested mainly on the lay princes, who had been won over by questionable concessions, and had become over-powerful at the cost of the ecclesiastical magnates. The united episcopate was now ready to relegate its worldly rivals to their proper bounds. Its hostility was specially directed against the duke of Saxony and Bavaria, the Welf Henry the Lion, who had incurred the bitter hatred of the lay princes and barons by his usurpations in Eastern Saxony. Even before the emperor's return the struggle broke forth there anew. Gero of Halberstadt had been replaced by the hot-blooded Ulrich, whom Henry had formerly driven forth from his see. Ulrich at once entered upon a feudal strife with the duke, and pronounced the anathema upon him. The war was renewed, Philip of Cologne taking part against Henry. Then the returning emperor commanded a cessation of hostilities, himself showing no animosity toward the Welf. But when, on frivolous pretexts, or none at all, Henry

failed at four successive imperial diets to appear and plead his cause, he was, in 1180, outlawed, and his fiefs declared forfeit, not on account of his refusal of help against the Lombards, or of the wrongful acts he had done or contemplated, but because by his obstinate neglect of the imperial summonses he had made himself guilty of high treason. At a diet in the palace of Gelnhausen (Fig. 188), in April, 1180, the duchy of Saxony was so partitioned that the ducal authority in the sees of Cologne and Paderborn, that is, in Westphalia, was conferred on the archbishop of Cologne, and in the lands between the Weser and the Elbe, on Bernard, son of Albert the Bear, security being taken for the immediate superiority of the empire over the resident bishops and counts, whom Henry had sought to reduce to vassals of his duchy. Henry tried to maintain his position by the sword, but was not strong enough to cope with the force brought against him. His solicitations for help from England and Denmark proved fruitless; and after Bavaria was granted, in June, 1180, to Otto of Wittelsbach, founder of the present royal house of Bavaria, Frederick was in a position to summon a royal army against the rebels (Fig. 73). He at the same time announced a date by which his followers were to renounce allegiance to the outlaw, and this the most observed punctually. Then, in 1181, the emperor appeared in Saxony at the head of his army, and, causing Brunswick to be blockaded, advanced across the Elbe. There, supported by Waldemar of Denmark, who was glad to be freed from the oppressive superiority of the Welf, he compelled the surrender of Lübeck, which, made a free city of the empire, continued to maintain its importance as the main commercial emporium of the Baltic. Henry the Lion withdrew into the fortress of Stade, whence he sent to the emperor the avowal of his submission. The final act followed at a diet in Erfurt, in November, 1181, where Henry did obeisance to the emperor. The sentence pronounced upon him remained in force; but Frederick, even yet willing to show him the greatest possible leniency, left him his family lands, Brunswick and Lüneburg, which had really also been forfeited. In all other respects the sentence of Gelnhausen was carried out. Such as had been despoiled of their lands by Henry were restored to their rights. A general peace was proclaimed in order to give rest to the lands torn for so many years by intestine feuds. The duke had to take an oath to keep away from Saxony till the emperor gave him leave to return. With his family and household he went to his father-in-law, Henry II. of Eng-



land, hoping in time to avenge his humiliation, and to win back his lands.

Through the overthrow of the power of Henry the Lion a change came upon Frederick's kingdom. Materially it was in no degree aggrandized. What the sovereign had formerly, at the cost of his royal rights, conferred on other princes, as on the new duke of Austria, to reconcile them to the restoration of the power of the Welfs, remained firmly theirs; what Henry had usurped from the estates of the realm reverted to them. In no case was the monarchy the

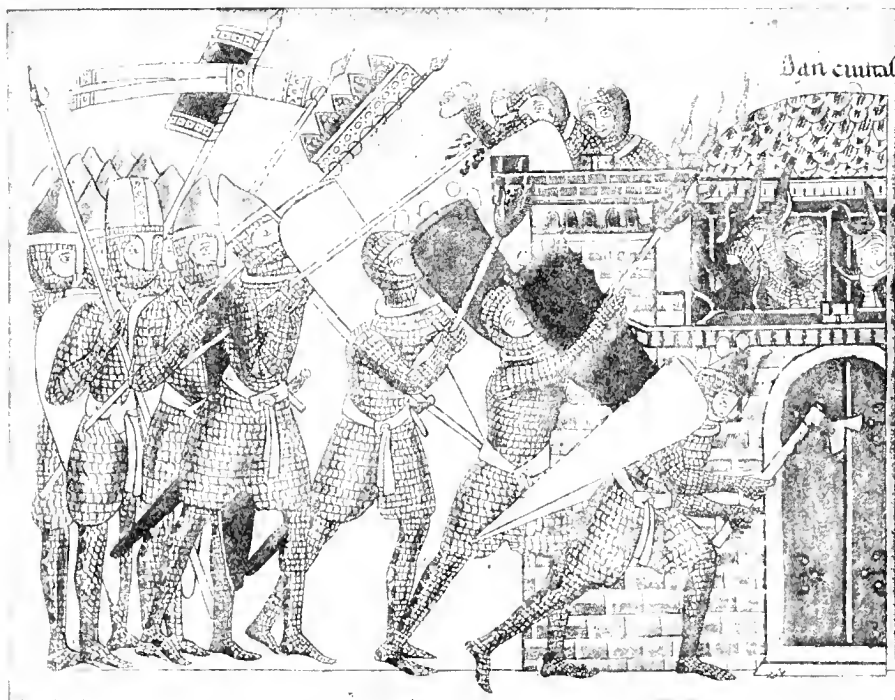


FIG. 73. — Armour and arms in the twelfth century; storming a gate-tower of a city. From the "*Hortus Deliciarum*" ('Garden of Delights') of Abbess Herrad of Landsberg, about 1160-1170. (From Engelhardt.)

heir of the Welf. The main sharer in the spoils was the archbishop of Cologne, and, through him, the German church. Enriched in worldly means, and strengthened by her re-admission into the church universal, she now held a position more independent of the monarchy than she had ever before enjoyed. But the dismemberment of Saxony was baneful for Germany's position in respect to the Slavs. Through the weakness of Duke Bernard, and the incessant

feuds between him and the petty dynasties, now practically independent, the great work of Christianizing, civilizing, and Germanizing this people came to a standstill. Waldemar's successor, Canute VI., the son-in-law of the overthrown Welf, now acquired the leading position among them.

Matters developed more favorably for Frederick in Italy. Alexander III. died in 1181. His successor, the mild and peace-loving Lucius III. (1181-1185), had to withdraw from Rome owing to the turbulence of the citizens. This Frederick made use of to attempt the settlement of the reserved question of the heritage of Matilda in accordance with his views. In the summer of 1182 he proposed to the pope an adjustment of all the disputed possessions in Italy. In consideration of the renunciation of all claims, the pope was to receive the tenth of all the imperial revenues in Italy; the cardinals, the ninth. The Curia refused assent. On the other hand, a treaty of peace was negotiated with the Lombard League at Nuremberg in 1183. The consular constitution of the cities remained, but was made to appear as an emanation from the imperial authority, inasmuch as the consuls were required to appear every five years before the emperor, or his representative in Italy, to receive investiture. The penal mandates issued against the cities were rescinded; the prerogatives (*regalia*) still in dispute were to be settled by arbitration. These conditions received formal confirmation at Piacenza at the end of April, when, also, a protocol was subscribed by which the Lombards bound themselves to pay the emperor 15,000 silver marks in yearly instalments. Lombard envoys went thereupon to Constance, where, on June 29, 1183, the peace was sworn to by the emperor, his son Henry, now king-elect, and the nobles.

Thus the emperor entirely gave up the demands he had made at Romeaglia, for which he had been fighting twenty years. In view of the developments, it is hardly an open question that his earlier policy was a political mistake; for Frederick, now in peace and friendship with the Lombards, took so commanding a position in Italy that even the Roman church had to bow before him. But the question of the Matildan lands was still in abeyance. The emperor renewed his proposal of financial indemnity to the pope and cardinals; otherwise he would leave every separate controverted point to the arbitration of qualified experts. The details Frederick was willing to arrange with Lucius III. at an interview in Verona, in the autumn of 1184. Before departing for that city, he held near May-

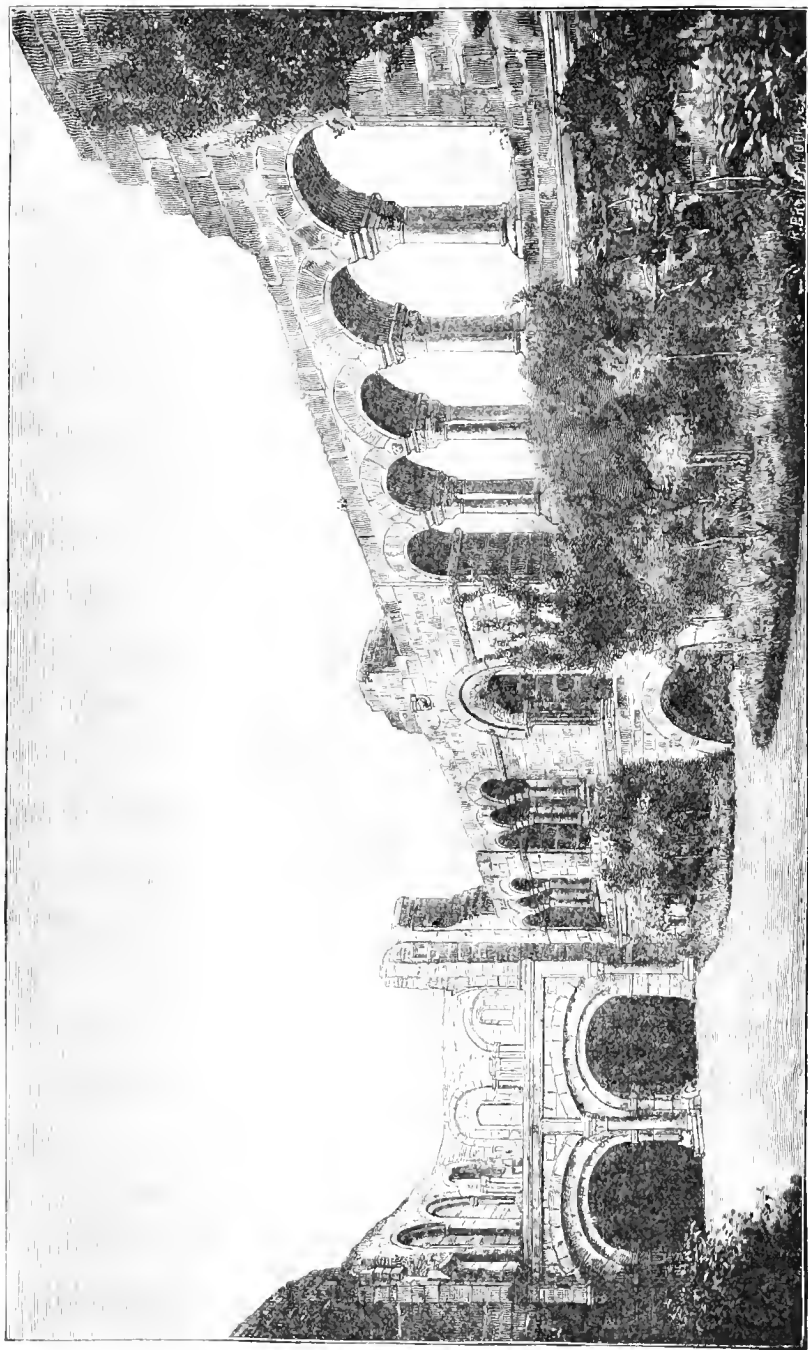


FIG. 74. — Ruins of the Imperial Palace at Gelnhausen. (Photograph.)

ence a magnificent court at Whitsuntide, a festival which was long afterwards celebrated in song. (Cf. Fig. 74.) Thither flocked the princes of the empire, both spiritual and lay, the nobles and great servants of the crown, on the occasion of the emperor girding his two sons, King Henry and Frederick, Duke of Swabia, with the knightly sword (Fig. 75), the real object being to exhibit to the exultant myriads and to the world the power and grandeur of the Ho-



FIG. 75. — Banquet scene of about 1200 A.D. Musicians, dancing-girls, jugglers. Mural painting in the Cathedral of Brunswick. Subject: Dance of Herodias's daughter.

henstaufen crown and empire. In October the betrothal of King Henry, who had been made his father's co-regent at the festival of Mayence, with Constance, heiress of the Norman kingdom of Sicily, was ratified. This connection, together with the friendship of Lombardy, made Frederick master of Italy. But precisely this triumph of his policy aggravated the tension of his relations to the church. When he and Lucius met, in November, 1184, in Verona, they were

easily at one on subordinate matters. Frederick granted the pope's request, made at the solicitation of Henry of England, for the permission of the return of Henry the Lion; and measures against heretics, and in preparation for a new crusade, were concerted. But in regard to the Matildan lands no understanding was arrived at; and, above all, the emperor was not gratified in his wish of seeing King Henry crowned emperor by the pope, which Lucius had formerly promised to fulfil. This disillusion naturally did not better his relation to the Curia; but, in the hope of bringing the pontiff over to his view, he persevered in his conciliatory attitude. In November, 1185, Lucius died; and with his successor, Urban III., the extreme anti-



FIG. 76. — Ceremony of receiving a squire into knighthood. The lord girdles the candidate's sword about him, while squires attach his spurs, and attendants stand in waiting with his cuirass, shield, and spear. (From Cutts.)

imperial party once more ruled the church. Again all the disputed points were taken up, which, for the sake of peace, had been allowed to lie dormant. Frederick gave up, therefore, his conciliatory policy, and determined to act with decision. When, at the end of January, 1186, the marriage of King Henry with Constance of Sicily (Fig. 77) was, at the earnest desire of the Milanese, celebrated in their city, he caused three most significant acts of coronation to be performed. He himself received anew the crown of Burgundy from the hands of the archbishop of Vienne; Constance, that of queen of Germany; while the Italian crown was placed on Henry's head by the patriarch of Aquileia. This meant an open breach with the Curia. Urban III. at once manifested active hostility, while young King Henry in response harried the States of the Church. Henry



May, 1189, the peace with the Curia, arranged at Mayence, was formally ratified. In June the emperor held a solemn court amidst the Crusaders, in Ratisbon, and settled the partition of his succession among his sons. Frederick, the first-born, received the duchy of Swabia: his second son, King Henry VI., was appointed regent; Conrad got the inheritance of the house of Rotenburg; and Otto, Burgundy. The youngest, Philip, entered a clerical career, as the provost of the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. On May 11, 1189, Frederick started for the east, the honored lord of an empire unified and at peace with itself, the leader of the flower of German chivalry, and the head of all Christendom united for the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre.

He was never again to tread his native soil.

## CHAPTER X.

EMPEROR HENRY VI. (1190-1197), POPE INNOCENT III. (1198-1216), AND THE CONTEST FOR THE IMPERIAL CROWN BETWEEN THE WELFS AND THE HOHENSTAUFENS.

(A.D. 1190-1216.)

HENRY VI. was, at the time of his father's departure for the East, twenty-four years of age. From his youth carefully educated and prepared for his high calling, of extraordinary intellectual endowments, far-seeing, inflexible of purpose, unwearied in combating difficulties, imbued with a sense of the incomparable dignity and greatness of his position, and resolute in making its claims acknowledged, — as a statesman, energetic, calculating, yet not free from a certain impetuosity that occasionally betrayed him into hasty action, — he was an exceptional man. He surpassed his father in talents, and was superior to him in this, also, that he had grown up by the side of the throne of which he was the heir. Counsellor by the tried advisors of his father, he gave a guaranty for a regency conducted in his father's spirit. The difficulties which were already awaiting him he surmounted splendidly by his vigor and self-reliance.

Scarcely had the emperor left Germany, when Henry the Lion, regardless of his oath, returned. He calculated on the inexperience of the young king, the discontent prevailing in Saxony, and the help of his son-in-law, King Canute of Denmark. So many flocked to his standard that he was quickly able to destroy the town of Bardowiek as well as to recover Lübeck. But a check was soon imposed on his career by the unlooked-for energy of the young king. Duke Henry was soon hard beset, and was glad when the king — called south by the death of William of Sicily to vindicate his wife's right to the succession — granted an easy peace (June, 1190). Half of the produce of the Lübeck tolls was left to the rebel; but that he was the defeated party was made manifest by the dismantling of Lüneburg and Brunswick, the delivery of his sons, Henry and Lothair, as hostages, and the deposition of his ally, Archbishop Hartwig of Bremen.



In November, 1189, the main line of the Norman royal house of Sicily became extinct by the death of William II., son-in-law of Henry II. of England, when, according to the marriage contracts, the crown passed to Constance, the aunt and heiress of William II., wife of King Henry. But this destination was regarded as a national misfortune by the Sicilians, who looked forward with horror to the impending rule of the northern barbarians. While, therefore, the Archbishop of Palermo, with his faction, supported Constance's succession and that of her husband, a national party usurped the guidance of the headless state, and set up Count Tancred of Lecce, a natural grandchild of King Roger II., as the national ruler. He was crowned at Palermo in January, 1190.

The Sicilian question — which threatened to undo the greatest stroke of the Hohenstaufen policy — became the centre round which the affairs of the west developed. In 1191 Henry VI., now at the head of the empire through the death of his father in Asia Minor in the previous year, entered Italy with an army to establish the rights of his wife. Pope Clement III., who had recognized Tancred of Lecce, died in March, and was succeeded by Celestine III., a weak old man of eighty, who regarded with fear and hatred the overgrown power of the empire. However, the Curia possessed the overlordship of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and it was necessary that Henry should win its support for his claims. This he did by a most disreputable concession; surrendering to the vengeance of the Romans the neighboring city of Tuscanum, which had always been faithful to the imperial cause. Henry was now crowned emperor by the pope. He marched directly on Apulia, where he soon drove the followers of Tancred from the open country into the strongly fortified city of Naples. There, provisioned from the sea, they successfully withstood a siege of three months.

During the siege, Henry, the son of Henry the Lion, who remained as a hostage in the imperial camp, escaped to Rome. After receiving from Celestine III., for the whole house of Welf, the special privilege of immunity from every interdict save that pronounced by the Pope, he proceeded to Germany, and at once roused to arms all the enemies of the house of Hohenstaufen. Meanwhile a pestilence broke out in the camp before Naples, carried off nine-tenths of the army, and struck down for a time the emperor himself. Hastily raising the siege, he returned to Germany. The Curia now openly took the side of his enemies. Moreover, a dual episcopal election at

Liège had most unfortunate results. Henry, appealing to the forged provision in the Concordat of Worms, of which we have already spoken, threw over both candidates, and named a third. The anti-imperial candidate, Albert of Brabant, nevertheless obtained consecration from Rome : whereupon, in November, 1192, he was murdered by three German knights. Right or wrong, public opinion accused the emperor as the instigator of the deed and held him responsible for it, just as Henry II. of England had been held responsible for the assassination of Thomas à Becket. Under the protection and patronage of the Pope, nearly all Germany rose in arms against Henry. Undismayed, he prepared for the unequal conflict, when a most unexpected and extraordinary piece of good fortune came to his help, and made him master of the situation.

King Richard I. of England, brother-in-law of Henry the Lion, and the prince on whose assistance the Welfs especially relied to bring their quarrel with Henry VI. to a successful issue, returned in the late autumn of 1192 from the Third Crusade. His enmity with King Philip II. Augustus made it unsafe for him to attempt the ordinary route through France ; consequently he determined to traverse Germany to the Welf territories, whence passage to England would be easy. He was shipwrecked at Aquileia, and set out on his journey in the guise of a pilgrim-merchant. He was recognized at Vienna (Christmas, 1192), and cast into prison by his personal enemy, Duke Leopold of Austria. Leopold delivered him, after some negotiations, to the emperor, in February, 1193 ; and Henry now held the key to the whole situation in his hands. Some of the rebellious princes submitted at once, while Henry concluded an alliance with Philip of France against the others.

Henry VI. kept his royal captive in confinement, first at Trifels in the Palatinate, then at Worms. The emperor sought by extorting every possible concession to make the most of the opportunity fortune had afforded him ; while Richard steadfastly refused to turn against his friends, the Welfs, or yield anything derogatory to his honor. At the beginning of 1194 matters were brought to a crisis in a romantic way. The emperor determined to cement his alliance with France by granting to Philip in marriage his cousin Agnes, daughter of the Rhenish count palatine, who had been betrothed before the rebellion to Henry, eldest son of Henry the Lion.

The Welf lover hastened, in secret collusion with his betrothed's mother, to Stahleck, where Agnes was, and was there wedded to her,

thus not only making the French marriage impossible, but allying the hated house of Welf in near kinship with that of Hohenstaufen. The emperor was beside himself. In vain did he command the dissolution of the tie formed without his consent; it was not within the church's power to help him, so he vented his wrath on the head of the defenceless English king, who was still in prison. This conduct was too extravagant and too destitute of even any appearance of justice not to call forth universal reprobation. The princes — Adolphus of Berg, the new archbishop of Cologne, at their head — rose in protest, and demanded that the royal prisoner should be set free. Henry — if he would not see all the advantages imperilled which he had extracted from Richard's captivity — had to give way. On February 4, 1194, the king was liberated in Mayence, on the pledge of an enormous ransom, to return, after a brilliant reception in Cologne, to his island home. This deprived the emperor of his main pledge for the humiliation of the Welfs; and, through the mediation of the count palatine, the difficult work of reconciliation was accomplished. There was no question of the restoration of the Welf power. Henry the Lion had, once for all, to renounce all projects in that direction, and to resign himself to the unalterable. But in compensation the emperor offered his house the possibility of rising in another place. The young Welf, Henry, received the prospect of the reversion of the estate of the Rhenish count palatine; which, however, he was to earn by following the emperor to war in Sicily. His younger brother, Otto, the favorite of his English uncle, became a hostage for the unpaid portion of the latter's ransom. At an interview at Tilleda, in March, 1194, the emperor and Henry the Lion made peace. The great Welf settled peacefully in Brunswick, where, in August, 1195, he ended his checkered life (Fig. 78). Rest returned to Saxony.

Henry VI. was glad to have his hands free to set to work to reconquer the Sicilian kingdom, whose acquisition, in his eyes, was more urgent than anything else. His prospects for success were highly favorable. True, Celestine had, after the murder of Bishop Albert of Liège, publicly recognized Tancred as king, and made an unsuccessful attempt at reconciliation. Tancred himself, in 1192, had won some successes in southern Italy. But a premature death put an end to his career in February, 1194. His first-born son, Roger, had preceded him; and the crown fell to a boy whose rights his mother, Sibylla, was ill able to maintain. In May, 1194,

Henry appeared in the Sicilian kingdom, where all bent before him in ostentatious obsequiousness. At the end of October he trod the soil of the island: on November 20 he was received in Palermo as the legitimate ruler; and on Christmas Day he was crowned. Next day his wife Constance gave birth to a son,—the heir of three crowns,—who received the name of Frederick. Henry was at first a mild conqueror, Sibylla's son, Roger, being granted his ancestral barony of Lecce. But a plot was betrayed to Henry, which was meant to put an end to his rule. Sibylla and her boy, who were both involved in it, were seized, and sent to Germany. For the moment the national party was cowed into mute obedience, but its heart was set on the abrogation of the 'barbarian' sway.

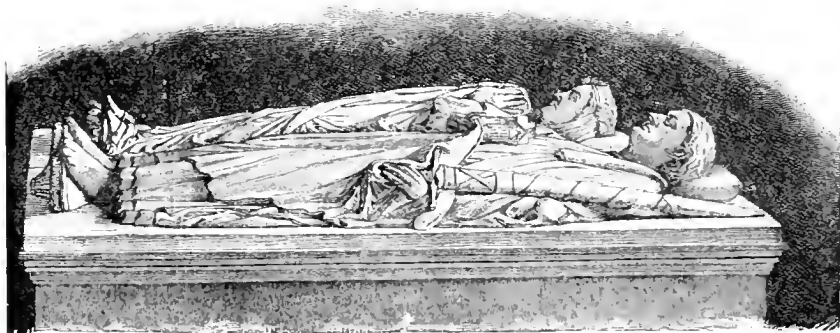


FIG. 78. — Tomb of Henry the Lion and his wife Matilda, in the Cathedral at Brunswick.

But Henry was obliged to leave the land soon. His object now was to carry his greater designs into execution. As master of Southern Italy and Sicily, he could vindicate his imperial rights with greater effect, while the strengthened monarchy acquired proportionately enhanced importance, and could advance other claims than it had formerly made. Henry, in possession of the treasures of the Norman kings, accumulated in the course of generations, which, it is said, it required 150 mules to carry across the Alps, was the richest prince of Christendom, and nothing seemed beyond his reach. Before setting out for the north, at a diet in Bari, in Easter, 1195, he set his kingdom in order, appointing Constance regent, but reserving the leading posts for Germans. The faithful Conrad of Urslingen, now Duke of Spoleto, was appointed lord-lieutenant. But the attempt at a well-ordered national government was too

meagre to conceal from the people the sacrifice they had made in the loss of their freedom.

Italy was now fully in Henry's hands. Through the Pisans and Genoese, he commanded the sea; the islands were in part in his power; and, through his league with the anti-papal senate faction, he was lord of the Eternal City. And from Italy as a centre his plans spread farther on all sides. England and France — the former through compulsion, the latter for its own advantage — were allies bound to him in service. The states in the Pyrenean peninsula courted his friendship and sought his protection; the Arabs of North Africa sent him obsequious embassies; in Asia, Leo of Armenia had the emperor invest him with the kingly crown. The Greek empire, also, was included in his ever-widening combinations. Thus the policy of the Hohenstaufen encircled the whole Mediterranean seaboard. But for this policy to be successful the emperor required, if not aid from the Curia, at least peaceful relations with it. What negotiating could hardly have accomplished, Henry effected by taking the cross at Bari in May, 1195, to be his father's successor in the war against the infidels.

But one essential condition was yet wanting. Before Henry's day, other German kings had risen to a height equal to his own; but uniformly with every change of dynasty, there came a reaction, to the diminution of the successor's power and dignity, and a tendency to make him dependent on the princes, lay and spiritual. But this evil would be obviated if the crown were made no longer dependent on the contingencies of an election, but hereditary in the Hohenstaufen family. This object, aimed at by all the more powerful kings, Henry wished to effect boldly by imperial legislation. For this object he returned across the Alps. The moment was happily chosen. All the world looked at him with awe; no one would do anything to impede his fulfilling his vow to take the cross; from the Welfs he had nothing to fear. Henry the Lion was dead, and his son was his own trusted follower. Moreover, his propositions sounded alluring. In consideration of the recognition of the hereditability of the crown in his house, he would incorporate the Sicilian kingdom in the German-Roman empire; the secular immediate fiefs should be hereditary in the female line, and, in case of extinction of the main line, should pass to the side line. In regard to the episcopate, he was willing to renounce the *jus spolii*, revived by his father at the diet of Roncaglia. But attractive as the proposals at first

seemed, on closer inspection they showed themselves mainly illusory. In the *jus spolii*<sup>1</sup> the church saw only an abuse, the removal of which ought not to be counted as a gain. The secular principalities had long been hereditary, and the modifications offered by Henry were no adequate equivalent for the loss of the right of election. It was in virtue of this prerogative that the princes had been able to curb the royal power when aggrandized at their cost. A southward extension of the empire would reduce the relative importance of the German kingdom. Attractive, therefore, as Henry's proposals might appear, the advantage was all on the side of the emperor; and the princes, in accepting them, would give up, for very questionable gains, a prerogative by which they had made every over-powerful monarchy harmless. To the papacy, the idea of a German-Roman-Sicilian hereditary monarchy, which would retain it in perpetual servitude, was intolerable. Self-preservation, therefore, made it imperative on the Curia to thwart Henry's schemes at any price. Community of interests, accordingly, united the German princes and the papacy in opposition to the Hohenstaufen plan of universal and hereditary domination.

The plan was thus doomed in advance. At a diet at Worms, in December, 1195, it was formally rejected. But it was not in the emperor's nature to succumb at once to such resistance. He adopted a systematic plan of intimidating princely opposition. Nor was this without its effect. At a diet at Würzburg, in April, 1196, the majority acquiesced, and appended their seals to the instrument, declaring the crown to be hereditary. All the more zealously did its decided enemies bestir themselves. At a diet in Erfurt, the emperor's proposition was conclusively rejected. Henry was shrewd enough not to press the matter further, and to avail himself of the disposition of the princes to get the election of his son as king carried through.

Probably this turn of relations was fortunate for the Hohenstaufen sovereignty in Germany. Gradually the Sicilians had come to the full consciousness of the fatal change brought upon them by the loss of their national independence, while the orderly government, substituted by Henry, soon showed itself to be an oppressive foreign tyranny. Its abrogation, even through force, was everywhere prayed for. Even the regent, Constance, shared in the

<sup>1</sup> The *jus spolii* was the right exercised by kings, or other feudal lords, of taking possession of the personal property of their deceased prelates.

nation's desire, and in the plot against her husband. In the course of a hunting excursion in the neighborhood of Messina, the emperor was to be assassinated. Warned in time, Henry hurried into Messina, gathering his faithful German officials around him. He then collected an army, and, advancing against the armed nobles, defeated them near Catania. Henry made believe that he had no suspicion of the complicity of his empress. The recognition and punishment of this would only have aggravated the situation. He caused her to take part in the measures called forth by the rebellion, so as hopelessly to compromise her in the eyes of the national party. Dreadful retribution awaited the other culprits. The hostages carried to Germany were blinded. As a merciless judge, the emperor made his appearance in the spring of 1197, among the nobles summoned to a diet at Palermo. They were all worthy of death; all had forfeited their privileges; nevertheless, he would cause only the ringleaders to suffer. And now was read out, under pretence of mercy, a long catalogue of sentences that struck all with mute horror. The sword and cord were set busily to work. The leaders of the conspiracy were drowned, smeared with pitch and set fire to, impaled and tortured to death. The Castellan of St. Giovanni—who had been destined, in case of success, for the national king—had a red-hot crown riveted to his head. The land now bowed before the emperor in the submission of terror. The decimated national party felt themselves in a manner bound to accept their lot with resignation, inasmuch as Henry's inherited wealth was to be spent in the services of the church, on a crusade which was to crown the work of his life.

As Henry had taken the cross without enthusiasm, and uninspired by religious zeal, so now, in his preparations for the designed expedition, he was influenced only by political motives. Envoys were sent to Constantinople; and Alexius hastened to avert, by friendly assurances, the attack with which he was threatened, and to purchase peace with 5000 pounds of gold. Meanwhile a powerful army was collected in Apulia, Conrad of Mayence being appointed to lead the way with 60,000 men. He began his voyage in the beginning of September, 1197, and on the twenty-second landed at Acre amid the jubilant shouts of the hard-pressed Christians.

At this moment Henry stood at the pinnacle of his fortune and of his power, the object of equal admiration and dread to his con-

temporaries. It was in accord with his plans in the East that he, even at this time, caused the marriage of the Greek Irene with his brother Philip to be celebrated with great festivity. Thereupon he enjoined on his brother (on whom he had conferred the vacant duchy of Swabia) to carry the young Frederick from Italy to Aix-la-Chapelle, there to be crowned on the throne of Charlemagne. These arrangements made, he died at Messina of a fever, September 28, 1197; and the whole proud structure of his world-embracing schemes sank in ruins.

It is not easy even to conceive the overwhelming impression made by this event. While the adherents of the house of Hohenstaufen were loud in their lamentations, and looked forward with dismay to the incurable disorders threatening to break in upon the land through enemies inspired with new confidence, the partisans of the Romish church rejoiced with undissembled joy over the collapse of a power that they dreaded.

On the news of Henry's death a revolt against foreign rule, instigated by the papacy, broke out in Italy. It was, moreover, said that Henry had died in the ban of the church and could not, therefore, be granted Christian burial. When Philip of Swabia appeared to carry his royal nephew to Aix for coronation, he was compelled to return. The church now laid her hands on everything she had at any time advanced claims to, and undertook a radical revision of the map of Italy. And who was there to oppose her? In Sicily, Constance herself was at the head of the national reaction. Through negotiations with Rome she secured the Christian interment of Henry beside his Norman predecessors in the Cathedral of Palermo, and, by her recognition of papal suzerainty, the coronation of the young Frederick. The loyal Germans, who had stood by her husband in all his perils, now had to leave the land. In Tuscany the cities united for common defence against German sway. In Lombardy the old hatred of northern authority came again to life. Italy was in a few weeks lost to Germany.

Not for the first time, but this time it was forever. For at a time when German power was waning abroad, and was weakened at home by the outbreak of a long civil war, there was called to the head of the church a man resolved, not only to make the realization of a universal monarchy impossible for all time, but also to convert the universal supremacy of the papacy into an accomplished fact. And he was a man adequate for the self-imposed task, for he was able so



to organize the church that she entered on the decisive conflict with imperialism under the most favorable conditions conceivable.

Henry's death was a severe blow for Germany. All the self-seeking little powers which had been held down by that monarch's strong hand were now eager to make the utmost possible use of their regained freedom. The complaint soon arose that justice and peace lay buried in Henry's grave. Bohemia and Austria, Flanders, Hainaut, and Brabant were torn by destructive feuds. To place a child on the throne in such a time of storm and stress meant nothing else than to run with open eyes into sure destruction. That Philip of Swabia remained true to his brother's injunctions, namely, that the young Frederick should be placed on the throne with himself as guardian and regent, was in consistency with his own most honorable nature, but not with the critical situation of the house and empire. Too late he became convinced of the impracticability of his task, and that the crown could be preserved to the family only by transferring it to one of its members able to defend its rights and discharge its duties. For now the old enemies of the house banded themselves together to drive the youth from the throne. Richard of England had his hand in the game; and the Archbishops Adolphus of Cologne and John of Treves, with the Duke of Lorraine, were the active leaders. On March 8, 1198, the Hohenstaufen party elevated the Duke Philip of Swabia to the throne. The opposition, under the leadership of Adolphus of Cologne, on June 9, elected the Welf, Otto, son of Henry the Lion, and had him crowned on July 12, at Aix. Otto IV., a boy of sixteen, born and reared abroad, the favorite of King Richard of England, who had made him Earl of York and then Count of Poitou, half English and half French, of a passionate, impetuous nature, without knowledge of or interest in German affairs, was well calculated to become, in the hands of the archbishop of Cologne, a tool for enhancing the autonomy of the nobles and papal influence.

A ten years' civil war began, from the disastrous effects of which mediaeval Germany was never perfectly to recover. The star of the German monarchy began to wane, and that of the papacy to arise to dazzle the world with its brilliancy. While Germany was torn by a dual sovereignty, the master-spirit now sitting in the chair of St. Peter was effecting the monarchical centralization of the church. The aged Celestine died early in 1198; and on January 9, Cardinal Lothair of Segni, a young man of thirty-seven, was chosen his suc-

cessor. He was deeply versed in the theology and canonical learning of his time, and for seven years had been a member of the sacred college. Innocent III. (1198-1216) was a born ruler, more from the clearness of his mind, his sound judgment of men and things, and his appreciation of adaptability of means to ends, than from the imposing dignity of his character. Imbued with a sense of the greatness of his office, and of the claims it conferred on him, he always, in consequence of his perfect business tact, took account of circumstances, and therefore never attempted the impossible. The hierarchical ideal stood clear and sharply defined before his spirit, which was accustomed to the highest flights, and the favor of the times enabled him almost completely to realize it. The forged decretals of the Pseudo-Isidore were now pressed to their last consequences, and the supremacy of the church over the state demonstrated with a logical conclusiveness that made resistance appear as rebellion against the order ordained by Heaven. As God's vicegerent on earth, Innocent claimed and gained the full possession of wordly power. The empire, if the order represented by him became permanent, would lose every right to existence, and would cease to be an authority even co-ordinate with the papacy; for it would be reduced, like the national states, to complete subjection to the Romish church. As the empire had claimed the protectorate of other states, so now the papacy assumed that rôle in its stead. In the east, Innocent brought Hungary and Transylvania into subjection to St. Peter; in the west, Aragon and Portugal. England he reduced to a papal fief. The material support for his claims was based on the expanded States of the Church and unified Italy, now emancipated from the empire, and under pontifical hegemony. But if Innocent was successful in abrogating imperial supremacy in Italy, he did not succeed in bringing it, in its whole former extent, under St. Peter, although his over-lordship of Sicily was again recognized, and, through the pope's guardianship of the young Frederick II., the future of the house of Hohenstaufen seemed to have fallen altogether into the hands of the church.

Meanwhile the civil war in Germany attained greater proportions. Innocent III., nevertheless, maintained for years a waiting attitude, and only in 1201 recognized the Welf, whose victory was of consequence to him, owing to the complication of the struggle with the new quarrel between England and France, and the conflict of the Curia with John of England. But this ramification of the contest,

and the divided interests of his enemies, helped Philip's cause; for Germany saw more and more clearly that the party of Otto was essentially foreign in its interests. Besides, Otto IV. did not possess the qualities calculated to call forth sympathy and sacrifice: while Philip's knightly, yet modest and conciliatory, deportment disarmed his enemies, and won them to his side. When Philip had captured Cologne, only Otto's Saxon adherents remained in opposition to him, and the Minnesinger, Walter von der Vogelweide, saluted Philip in song as the now universally recognized king. Innocent adroitly accommodated himself to the changed situation. Negotiations were opened, and resulted in an accommodation even in regard to the disputed lands in Middle Italy. The church agreed to surrender those not properly hers. Philip promised to marry his daughter to a nephew of the pope, who should receive Tuscany as a fief of the empire. The pope even promised the imperial crown to Philip. Men rivalled each other in equipping themselves for the last campaign against the remnant of the Welf faction; and the Lombard cities were contemplating arming in defence of their liberties against the renewed power of the Ghibellines (as the adherents of Hohenstaufen were called in Italy), when the land was startled by the news of Philip's bloody death. During a visit to the episcopal palace of Bamberg, he was treacherously slain (June 21, 1208) by the Count Palatine of Bavaria, Otto of Wittelsbach, to whom he had refused his daughter's hand, and whose wooing of a daughter of Henry of Silesia he had thwarted by a faithful disclosure of his dissolute and reckless character.

There was nothing left the Ghibelline party but to revive the claim of Frederick of Sicily to the throne. But this would inevitably renew the hostility of the Curia, for Innocent's policy was to hinder at any price the concentration of the German and Sicilian power in one person. Then a change, almost more surprising than any in this eventful time, was brought about. At the earnest admonition of the patriotic archbishop of Magdeburg, the partisans of the Hohenstaufen monarchy recognized Otto of Brunswick as king, who unreservedly adopted the policy of the murdered man. Thus the work so happily initiated by Philip was consummated at the moment when all feared to see it undone.

Otto IV., on his part, impressed with the greatness of the moment, and carried away with the general enthusiasm for nationality, developed qualities that scarcely any had suspected him of possess-

ing, and showed himself worthy of the confidence which people and princes alike placed in him. On November 11, 1208, chosen with all the customary formalities as king, he assumed not only the duty of avenging the murder, but also of caring for those whom Philip had left behind him. Through his marriage with the latter's daughter, Beatrice, he sealed the reconciliation of parties, and held out the prospect of a close family alliance between the houses of Hohenstaufen and Welf. But this turn in German affairs seems to have awakened a certain mistrust in the Curia. Innocent feared that the restoration of internal tranquillity might turn the eyes of the Germans toward Italy, and revive there also the traditions of the Hohenstaufen policy. The church demanded, therefore, from Otto IV. the express recognition of its territorial acquisitions since the death of Henry VI., as well as of the feudal dependence of Sicily on it, — involving, of course, the renunciation of all imperial claims thereto. But even this did not satisfy Innocent. His legates made further and more unpleasant claims, namely, the surrender of the *jus spoli*, and the renunciation of Otto's prerogatives in regard to episcopal elections based on the Concordat of Worms. Otto was, in fine, to bear the impress of a 'priest's king,' and, though unanimously chosen and universally acknowledged, was to occupy the position that Lothair and Conrad III. did on their elevation. Otto at first scornfully refused to make such concessions; but the legates reminded him, in a way not to be misunderstood, of the earlier election by which Frederick of Sicily had an undoubted right to the German crown, and hinted that in case of need the church would support his claim. Otto was thus threatened with a new civil war in case he refused to pay the price demanded by Rome. The unscrupulous selfishness of the papal policy could scarcely show itself more undisguisedly than in this piece of perfidy by which it practically denied its own often-maintained position of the impracticability of joining the crowns of Germany and Sicily. Still the king had to yield for the time. In March, 1209, the treaty satisfying the papal claims was signed at Spire, by which the investiture and oath of fealty of the bishops were converted into a meaningless formality. The question was whether, in face of the strong feeling of nationality now developed in Germany, Otto would be able to observe the bounds set for him, or whether he would be compelled, like his ancestor Lothair, through the irresistible logic of circumstances, to show himself on this point also the heir of the Hohenstaufen policy.

Otto, after receiving a papal dispensation for his marriage with Beatrice, so much desired by the Curia, was formally affianced to her at the end of May, 1209, whereupon he repaired to Rome, and received the imperial crown at the hands of Innocent, in October. But in attempting to settle the affairs of Middle Italy, especially in regard to the points in dispute between the church and the state, he had often to combat the claims of the Curia, and remind it that he was bound to protect, not only the rights and possessions of the church, but those of the empire as well. He soon found himself threatened; for while Innocent was dealing with him to get some indemnity for Frederick of Sicily for his share of the Hohenstaufen family domains, which Otto had taken possession of on his betrothal to Beatrice, Frederick had been forming secret connections in Swabia. The details are naturally obscure; but Otto seems to have got the impression that Frederick was inclined to make valid against him his claim to the German crown, of which the pope had so significantly reminded him at Spire. This explains the sudden change in the emperor's policy, hitherto so peaceful and conciliatory. Judging attack to be his best defence, he now asserted the right of the empire to Lower Italy, and so provoked an immediate rupture with the Curia. By nominating Diepold of Acerra, Henry VI.'s most trusted servant in the administration of Lower Italy, duke of Spoleto, and military head of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, he treated this domain as a part of the empire, and renounced the compact by which he recognized the feudal superiority of St. Peter. In 1210 he harried Tuscany, and in person broke into Apulia, where he was gladly welcomed by many. It appears that all hoped, through the Welf, to be freed from the rule of the Hohenstaufen, which they always felt to be a foreign one. Frederick fell into dire straits. As the price of peace, he offered to renounce the Hohenstaufen inheritance in Germany, and to pay a sum of money. As Otto kept pressing onward, Frederick even thought of flight to the African coast. Then the pope intervened with the whole weight of his authority, and on November 18 pronounced the anathema against Otto.

The ban of Innocent operated with almost more effect than that pronounced by Gregory VII. on Henry IV. All the numerous enemies of the imperial power—again showing its strength in Italy—arose. In Germany the desertion of the princes was almost universal; for there the exhortations of the pope were strengthened by Philip II. of France, who hated Otto as the ally of England, the

old enemy of his country. He was very zealous in promoting the election of an anti-king, and, naturally, first of all, that of Frederick of Sicily. The pope interposed no obstacle, although the danger of a conjunction of the German and Sicilian crowns was thereby renewed. Frederick's youth and his feudal subjection probably led Innocent to the conviction that he would prove a facile tool in his hands. Thus papal and French intrigues furthered his cause. In



FIG. 79. — Seal of Otto IV. The emperor seated upon a throne with low back. In his right hand a sceptre with a double cross; in his left the imperial globe and cross. His cloak held together on his breast by a large brooch. Sun and moon in the background. Legend: + DEI GRATIA OTTO ROMANORVM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER AVGVST. (From Heffner and an impression in the British Museum.)

September, 1211, the German malcontents sent a secret message to Frederick, asking him to come to Germany, and have himself chosen king.

At the news of this, Otto (Fig. 79) hurried to Germany. With rare unanimity public opinion took the side of the legitimate king. The people were ready to stake their all in defence of their national independence and honor, which France and the Curia were offering up to their own self-seeking ends. Never before had the

popular antipathy to Rome received such vigorous expression. The outlook for the Sicilian king, now on his way towards Germany, seemed gloomy enough. But the sudden death of Otto's youthful wife, Beatrice, in August, 1212, broke the main tie that bound the Hohenstaufen adherents to the emperor. To them he no longer appeared the legitimate representative of the Ghibelline interests, but was again merely a Welf, and Frederick the only rightful claimant of the crown. The latter's opportune appearance in Germany consummated the reaction. A desertion ensued such as even the excommunicated Henry IV. had not had to experience, the runaways flocking to the grandson of Barbarossa and the protégé of the pope.

In the spring of 1212, Frederick had crossed the Alps with a scanty following. A youth of seventeen, but of premature development, he had been, from political motives, married to Constance of Aragon, ten years his senior, and for three years had conducted the government of his hereditary kingdom. Contending with many difficulties at home — in particular with the rebellious disposition of the Sicilian baronage — his attempt on the German throne seemed, to say the least, hazardous. But the youth's lofty aspirations and faith in his fortune set him far above all doubt or thought of danger. The old Swabian adherents of his house streamed to him with enthusiasm. Southern and Middle Germany were shortly in his power. On December 1, 1212, he was elected king at Aix-la-Chapelle; on the 9th he was crowned at Mayence. Otto's inactivity furthered his progress. Instead of concentrating his strength, and at once crushing the anti-king, he left him unmolested, in the belief that he would be sure of victory as soon as he had deprived him of outside help, especially of that of Philip II. of France. With this view he joined with John of England in the latter's war against the French monarch. But the severe defeat of the allies at Bouvines, on July 27, 1214, destroyed the remnants of Otto's strength. After this the royal power passed practically into the hands of his adversary, who was ready to make any sacrifices to win support. In a formal instrument he made over to the church all that it had claimed since the death of Henry VI., — namely, in addition to the proper patrimony of St. Peter, the Matildan lands, Ancona, and Spoleto, the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, besides the Italian islands, pledging himself to protect it in these possessions with all his resources, and to reconfirm this grant on the occasion of the imperial coronation. Thus a Hohenstaufen, with a stroke of his pen (Fig. 80), sur-

rendered what his father and grandfather had exerted all their mighty force to gain, and endowed the church with territories to an extent which, at the very start, made the realization of Frederick's secret plans of aggrandizement impossible. German national sentiment was unknown to him. He purchased the friendship of Waldemar II. of Denmark by the cession of the mark north of the Elbe, which Henry the Lion had fought hard to win for Germany.



FIG. 80. Seal of Frederick II. The king sits upon a throne, of which the legs and columns at the back are ribbed, the latter terminating in a lily design. The rim of his garment is set with gems. In his right hand he holds a sceptre, consisting of a double cross, below which are two pikes; in his left the imperial globe. Legend: †FRIDERICVS DEI GRA ROMANOR REX SEMP AVGVSTV, continued in the field in ET REX-SICILIE. (From Heffner and a cast in the British Museum.)

Otto IV. was completely isolated. Of the enthusiasm with which he had at first been received, and the warlike ardor which prompted men to contemplate the expulsion of the pope and his tool from Germany, there was no longer a trace. He had not known how to organize the national forces put at his disposal, and direct these in the execution of well-considered plans of policy and war. His unexpected and pitiful exit from the scene made the victory of the



papacy — which had now crowns at its disposal, and enthroned and deposed kings at its pleasure — doubly complete. Like his uncle, John of England, the emperor had now to expiate his disobedience to the pope's orders by defeat and the loss of his empire. He retired to his hereditary domain of Brunswick; and Germany itself appeared but as a province of the universal empire of the Roman church, over which the pope, as God's vicegerent, exercised unlimited sovereignty. The achievements of Henry VI. were cast into the shade by those of Innocent III. In consequence of the Fourth Crusade, Rome's voice had, for ten years, been powerful in Byzantium, and to it the Christians of the East looked for their liberation from infidel rule. At Innocent's mandate the distant Prussians and Livonians were Christianized, and made subject to his sway. Under him the new orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans took their rise, whose mission was the reformation of the church in its inner life, and who exercised a powerful effect on the masses of the awakened faithful. The former, the disciples of the Spaniard Dominic de Guzman, devoted themselves to the preservation of the unity and purity of the faith, finding in Southern France an especially fruitful field for their labors. Here they combated every form of heresy, and gradually developed the organization of the Inquisition. The sincere fervor of Francis of Assisi (Fig. 81) and his pious associates (Franciscans), on the other hand, soon took offence at the papal system of administration, which was involving the church and its ministers in the business of the world.

Now that Germany had turned with such unanimity in favor of the Ghibelline anti-king, Innocent believed that his ends were within easy reach. To subdue the last elements of opposition to the new order of things, based on his own universal supremacy, all that seemed to be required was its recognition and promulgation. With this end he summoned a general council to meet in November, 1215, regardless of the contradiction involved in making the system of absolutism, to which state and church were alike to bow, dependent, in the last instance, on the decision of an ecumenical council. But again everything was favorable to the pope. The victory of the papal king was declared when Frederick, on July 25, 1215, was elevated, amid a brilliant concourse of magnates, lay and episcopal, to the throne of Charlemagne at Aix, and again invested with the crown; while he, in token of his gratitude to God and the church, took the vow for a new crusade. Innocent triumphantly announced

this issue of the conflict for the German throne to the ecumenical council that met in the Lateran in November, 1215. Seventy patriarchs and archbishops — among them those of Jerusalem and Constantinople — were present, more than 400 bishops, and over double



FIG. 81. — St. Francis of Assisi receives from Pope Innocent III. the privilege of unlimited preaching. Fresco by Giotto di Bondone (1276-1336), in the upper church at Assisi. (From a photograph.)

that number of abbots and priors. The kings of Germany, England, Aragon, Castile, Hungary, Cyprus, and Jerusalem, and many other potentates as well as cities, were represented. Measures for

the reform of the church and the deliverance of the Holy Land, in conformity with Innocent's wish, were willingly approved of; but even at this date displeasure was expressed at his policy. Milan and the Lombard cities declared openly for Otto IV.; and among the fathers of the council there were some who dreaded more detriment than advantage to the church from the young Hohenstaufen, whose triumph Innocent was celebrating. But the opinions of these dissentients and doubters had no practical effect. In regard to the conflict for the throne, also, the council bowed to the authority of the pope, and, expressing its approval of his action therein, united with him in declaring the deposition and outlawry of Otto IV.

Papal absolutism, temporal and spiritual, was an accomplished fact.

## CHAPTER XI.

### EMPEROR FREDERICK II. AND THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN.

(A.D. 1215-1268.)

FREDERICK II. was thoroughly cosmopolitan and un-German in character; and from the very first his purpose, the same as that of his father, Henry VI., was to establish, on the basis of the union of the Sicilian kingdom with the Roman-German empire, a universal monarchy, supreme alike over temporal princes and the pope. His early concessions to the pope, to the princes, to the bishops, were all made with a view to establishing a power that, before it provoked opposition, should be able to defy it. Frederick did not for a moment believe that he could permanently remain on good relations with the Roman Curia. He waited his opportunity for action, while meantime his too powerful patron and his defeated rival passed away, Innocent III. on July 16, 1216, and Otto IV. in his castle of the Harzburg on May 10, 1218.

The new pope, Honorius III. (1216-27), though willing to tread in his predecessor's footsteps, was far from possessing Innocent's keenness of perception or well-directed energy. Naturally of a mild and placable disposition, he listened gladly to the soothing assurances with which Frederick knew how to lull suspicion asleep. Adroitly, too, did the emperor make use of the pontiff's zeal for the deliverance of the Holy Land. Honorius had already determined King Andrew II. of Hungary to march to the East, and was now using every means to arm the West for an attack on Egypt, with Damietta as its objective point. Frederick, by showing himself devoted to the church, and ready to serve her in other respects, as by offering the help of the secular arm for the suppression of heresy, enlarging the immunities of the clergy, and the like, made it appear as if it depended only on herself to see the vow he had sworn at Aix-la-Chapelle fulfilled, and his whole force placed at Honorius's disposal for carrying out his cherished idea. To remove all impediments, the latter celebrated the imperial coronation, November 22,

1221, without, however, gaining more, for the moment, than that the emperor repeated in yet more solemn form his former vow.

Around this obligation Frederick's whole relation to the pope and church turned for years. Not that it in any degree affected his grand purpose, but that it temporarily, at least, disarmed the pope (Figs. 82, 83), and prevented his earnestly combating any imperial scheme which menaced the church. The renewed admonitions of Honorius were always answered with new pretexts and excuses. Endless negotiations were begun about the definite beginning of the crusade. Renewed congresses led to new compacts, which all ended in nothing. Even when Frederick, on the death of his spouse, Constance of Aragon, married the daughter of John de Brienne, the titular king of Jerusalem, so as to give himself a claim to the crown of the Holy Land, the enterprise was in no way hastened. The patience of Honorius was at length worn out, and he threatened to put a stop to such procrastination. At length a compact was made, in July, 1225, by which Frederick bound himself to set off on the crusade, at latest within two years, failing which he was to incur the ban of the church. But even from this fact Frederick's astute diplomacy knew how to extract new advantages, by representing it to be the duty of the church to assist him



FIG. 82. — Bulla of Pope Honorius III. At the right St. Peter, at the left St. Paul. (Ann. arch.)

in removing the obstacles which the situation of his empire presumably interposed to his redeeming his pledge. This implied not only the establishment of an absolute and centralized bureaucratic government in Sicily, which would place the resources of that rich land at his unlimited disposal in a way little compatible with papal suzerainty, but also, and in particular, the subjugation of the Lombard cities. To accomplish the latter object the church was to lend the whole weight of its authority. This policy, bold as it was adroit, which Honorius in his simplicity and fervor of spirit did not penetrate, succeeded at first according to Frederick's wishes. When the Lombard cities, at the instance of Milan, answered the demands advanced by Frederick at a diet at Cremona, in 1226, by renewing the Lombard League, and he responded by declaring its members outlawed, and the peace of Constance annulled, Honorius took his part

with determination, excommunicating the recalcitrant cities. The alliance was altogether unnatural. Under the appearance of co-operating for a common end, each had in view its own individual aim. Only the long-suffering of Honorius deferred the ever-imminent breach. A change in the pontificate dissolved the incompatible union.

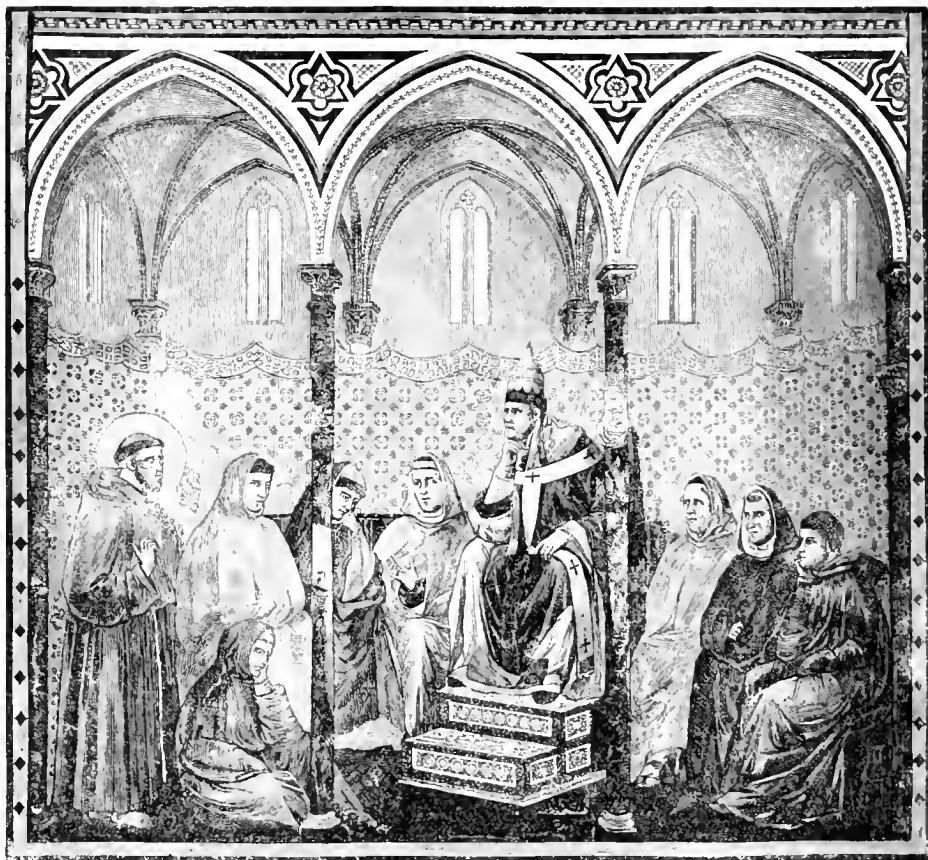


FIG. 83. St. Francis of Assisi preaching before Pope Honorius III. Fresco by Giotto di Bondone (1276-1336) in the church at Assisi. (Photograph.)

The interval of two years allowed the emperor for his entrance on the Crusade expired at the date of Honorius's death in March, 1227. His successor, Gregory IX. (1227-1241), who, despite his advanced age, had all the vigor of youth combined with unflagging resolution, assumed at once a different attitude. He was determined, on the one hand, to remove from Frederick's way whatever

might impede the fulfilment of his vow; and, on the other, not to give ear to any futile pretexts and evasions. His first step was to compel the Lombard cities to lay down their arms. Frederick now really assembled an army for the Crusade, — Germans, Italians, French, and Lombards, — at Brindisi. Before they could take ship, at the beginning of September, a deadly epidemic broke out in the camp. The emperor himself was taken down on board ship, and had to be landed at Otranto. His enemies derisively declared that his illness was a make-believe. It suited Gregory's policy to believe them. On September 29, immediately on learning of his disembarkation at Otranto, and without waiting for, or wishing to hear, a word of explanation, he pronounced the ban on the 'recreant' emperor.

That the Crusade was not the only or even the main question at issue was evident from the passionate terms in which Gregory announced Frederick's excommunication to Christendom, and caused the news of it to be disseminated over Italy through bands of mendicant friars. Frederick's answer was correspondingly violent. In contradistinction to the treacherous peace of the last few years, the main subject of dispute between the empire and the papacy now found full expression. Frederick openly charged his opponent with outrageous tyranny. He had stripped, he said, the King of England and Count Raymond of Toulouse — the protector of the Waldenses — of their lands and people, and made them slaves of St. Peter, and was now preparing the same fate for all other princes. Never before had the arrogant worldly aims of the papacy been branded in such plain terms before all Christendom. To the ban he paid no attention, but compelled his clergy, wherever he appeared, to continue in the discharge of their office, and perform divine service in his presence. And the world was not blind enough not to read, between the lines of the pope's and his emissaries' furious addresses, the true purport of this assault on the emperor. Frederick's part was taken far and wide; and his situation took a still more favorable aspect when Gregory was, in Easter, 1228, compelled to flee, before a rising of the Romans, to Viterbo.

In June, 1228, the emperor set off for Palestine to assert his own right and that of his son Conrad (whose birth had cost his mother's life) to the crown of Jerusalem. In spite of the enduring hostility of the church, which strove to impede his every step, and through traitorous intrigues — especially of the Templars — to deliver him into the hands of the infidels, Frederick succeeded in over-

coming, by his mild yet energetic deportment, all difficulties, and in securing from Sultan Al-Kamel a secure route for the pilgrims to and from the holy places. This was more than had been attained by all the preceding crusades, and beyond it he effected his own coronation as king of Jerusalem in spite of the machinations of the mendicant friars, and the fanatical clergy of Palestine. The gain, political and moral, was all on his side, when Christendom learned with astonishment that, while he was liberating the Holy Land, a papal army under his untrustworthy father-in-law, John de Brienne (himself an aspirant to the crown of Jerusalem), had made an inroad into his hereditary possessions in Italy. Everyone saw that only worldly ends had been the motive of the excommunication of Frederick, and that Gregory's zeal for the liberation of the Holy Land was simply a hollow pretext.

But matters were not yet so ripe as the pontiff believed. Frederick hastened home, and, surprising his enemies and clearing Apulia of the papal invaders, burst into the States of the Church. Gregory now thought it desirable to cultivate peace, not because he had renounced his schemes, but simply with the view of resuming them at a more convenient season. To the emperor, little as he deceived himself in regard to the unavailability of an ultimate and decisive struggle with Rome, a respite was altogether acceptable, as giving him time for concentrating and organizing his strength. Thus a peace was concluded, on July 23, 1230, at San Germano, which, without determining the great controversy, settled several accessory points: as Frederick's release from the ban, and the confirmation of Gregory in the States of the Church as well as in his suzerain rights in Sicily.

The respite lasted for five years, a period of prosperity and glory for the emperor, during which he achieved a series of great successes that enhanced his confidence in the realization of his magnificent plans, which owed their origin to the grand imperial idea that filled his whole soul as it had that of his father, Henry VI. He deemed it especially urgent so to order matters in his Sicilian kingdom that he could there secure an unrestricted command of its rich resources and an absolute rule, relying on which he could reorganize the dismembered German kingdom on entirely new lines.

It was at this time that the renowned organization of the Sicilian administration took its rise, which in the palmy days of mediæval feudalism realized the ideal of a bureaucratic absolute monarchy.





**S**icut enim dicitur in **1<sup>a</sup> Regum 17** **et 18** **et 19** **et 20** **et 21** **et 22** **et 23** **et 24** **et 25** **et 26** **et 27** **et 28** **et 29** **et 30** **et 31** **et 32** **et 33** **et 34** **et 35** **et 36** **et 37** **et 38** **et 39** **et 40** **et 41** **et 42** **et 43** **et 44** **et 45** **et 46** **et 47** **et 48** **et 49** **et 50** **et 51** **et 52** **et 53** **et 54** **et 55** **et 56** **et 57** **et 58** **et 59** **et 60** **et 61** **et 62** **et 63** **et 64** **et 65** **et 66** **et 67** **et 68** **et 69** **et 70** **et 71** **et 72** **et 73** **et 74** **et 75** **et 76** **et 77** **et 78** **et 79** **et 80** **et 81** **et 82** **et 83** **et 84** **et 85** **et 86** **et 87** **et 88** **et 89** **et 90** **et 91** **et 92** **et 93** **et 94** **et 95** **et 96** **et 97** **et 98** **et 99** **et 100** **et 101** **et 102** **et 103** **et 104** **et 105** **et 106** **et 107** **et 108** **et 109** **et 110** **et 111** **et 112** **et 113** **et 114** **et 115** **et 116** **et 117** **et 118** **et 119** **et 120** **et 121** **et 122** **et 123** **et 124** **et 125** **et 126** **et 127** **et 128** **et 129** **et 130** **et 131** **et 132** **et 133** **et 134** **et 135** **et 136** **et 137** **et 138** **et 139** **et 140** **et 141** **et 142** **et 143** **et 144** **et 145** **et 146** **et 147** **et 148** **et 149** **et 150** **et 151** **et 152** **et 153** **et 154** **et 155** **et 156** **et 157** **et 158** **et 159** **et 160** **et 161** **et 162** **et 163** **et 164** **et 165** **et 166** **et 167** **et 168** **et 169** **et 170** **et 171** **et 172** **et 173** **et 174** **et 175** **et 176** **et 177** **et 178** **et 179** **et 180** **et 181** **et 182** **et 183** **et 184** **et 185** **et 186** **et 187** **et 188** **et 189** **et 190** **et 191** **et 192** **et 193** **et 194** **et 195** **et 196** **et 197** **et 198** **et 199** **et 200** **et 201** **et 202** **et 203** **et 204** **et 205** **et 206** **et 207** **et 208** **et 209** **et 210** **et 211** **et 212** **et 213** **et 214** **et 215** **et 216** **et 217** **et 218** **et 219** **et 220** **et 221** **et 222** **et 223** **et 224** **et 225** **et 226** **et 227** **et 228** **et 229** **et 230** **et 231** **et 232** **et 233** **et 234** **et 235** **et 236** **et 237** **et 238** **et 239** **et 240** **et 241** **et 242** **et 243** **et 244** **et 245** **et 246** **et 247** **et 248** **et 249** **et 250** **et 251** **et 252** **et 253** **et 254** **et 255** **et 256** **et 257** **et 258** **et 259** **et 260** **et 261** **et 262** **et 263** **et 264** **et 265** **et 266** **et 267** **et 268** **et 269** **et 270** **et 271** **et 272** **et 273** **et 274** **et 275** **et 276** **et 277** **et 278** **et 279** **et 280** **et 281** **et 282** **et 283** **et 284** **et 285** **et 286** **et 287** **et 288** **et 289** **et 290** **et 291** **et 292** **et 293** **et 294** **et 295** **et 296** **et 297** **et 298** **et 299** **et 300** **et 301** **et 302** **et 303** **et 304** **et 305** **et 306** **et 307** **et 308** **et 309** **et 310** **et 311** **et 312** **et 313** **et 314** **et 315** **et 316** **et 317** **et 318** **et 319** **et 320** **et 321** **et 322** **et 323** **et 324** **et 325** **et 326** **et 327** **et 328** **et 329** **et 330** **et 331** **et 332** **et 333** **et 334** **et 335** **et 336** **et 337** **et 338** **et 339** **et 340** **et 341** **et 342** **et 343** **et 344** **et 345** **et 346** **et 347** **et 348** **et 349** **et 350** **et 351** **et 352** **et 353** **et 354** **et 355** **et 356** **et 357** **et 358** **et 359** **et 360** **et 361** **et 362** **et 363** **et 364** **et 365** **et 366** **et 367** **et 368** **et 369** **et 370** **et 371** **et 372** **et 373** **et 374** **et 375** **et 376** **et 377** **et 378** **et 379** **et 380** **et 381** **et 382** **et 383** **et 384** **et 385** **et 386** **et 387** **et 388** **et 389** **et 390** **et 391** **et 392** **et 393** **et 394**

Hereafter, issued by Empire of Friedrich II. on behalf of the Bremen Dominicans.

woethird- (Thom von Sybel and Sockel, *Kaiserarchivalien*).



In this Frederick appears as a genuine Norman. The reigns of his father and his rival Tancred were to him but episodes to be ignored, so that his own should appear a continuation of that of the last genuine national ruler, William II., with its defects and oriental traits removed. This order of things was at variance with all that the church of the time dictated in respect to the organization of a state, and left no room for its vast claims. Gregory IX., accordingly, was in no way chary of his denunciation, and sought to abrogate the code which Frederick published, in 1231, as reprehensible from an ecclesiastical point of view. But the emperor, so far from letting himself be influenced by papal mandates, — though he issued an edict against heretics in 1232 (PLATE VII.<sup>1</sup>), — proceeded with the

<sup>1</sup> Facsimile of an Edict relating to Heretics, issued by Frederick II., 1232.

TRANSCRIPTION.

Fridericus dei gratia Romanorum Imperator et Semper Augustus, Ierusalem et Siciliæ Rex. Dilectis Principibus suis, venerabilibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis aliisque prelatiſ ecclesiarum, | <sup>2</sup> Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Scultetis, Burgraviis, Advocatis, Iudicibus, Ministerialibus, Officialibus et universis per totum imperium constitutis presentes | <sup>3</sup> litteras inspecturis, fidelibus suis gratiam suam et omne bonum. Commissi nobis celitus cura regiminis et imperialis cui dante domino presidemus fastigium dignitatis, materiale quo | <sup>4</sup> diuissim a sacerdotio fungimur gladium aduersus hostes fidei et in exterminium hereticæ prauitatis exigunt exerendum, ut uipereos perfidie filios contra dominum et ecclesiam insul | <sup>5</sup> tantes tanquam materno uteri corrosores in iudicio et iustitia persequamur, maleficos uiuere non passuri, per quorum scientiam seductricem mundus inficitur et gregi fidelium per | <sup>6</sup> oves has morbidas grauior infligitur corruptela. Statuimus itaque sanctientes, ut heretici quocumque nomine censeantur, ubicumque per imperium ab ecclesia dampnati | <sup>7</sup> fuerint et seculari iudicio assignati, animadversione debita puniantur. Si qui uero de predictis postquam fuerint deprehensi, territi metu mortis redire uoluerint ad fidei unitatem, | <sup>8</sup> iuxta canonicas sanctiones ad agendam penitentiam in perpetuum carcerem retrudantur. Preterea quicumque heretici reperti fuerint in ciuitatibus, oppidis seu locis aliis imperii per inquisito | <sup>9</sup> res ab apostolica sede datos et alios orthodoxe fidei zelatores, hii qui iurisdictionem ibidem habuerint, ad inquisitorum et aliorum catholicorum uirorum insinuationem eos capere teneantur | <sup>10</sup> et captos artius custodire, donec per censuram ecclesiasticam condemnatos dampnabili morte perimant, qui fidei et uite sacramenta dampnabunt. Simili quoque pena plecti cen | <sup>11</sup> semus omnes, quos ad fonendum hereticorum errorem callidi hostis astutia suscitât aduocatos et parat illicitos defensores, maxime cum facinus quos inquinat equet, nisi monitione | <sup>12</sup> premissa destiterint eorum uite duxerint consulendum. Eos preterea, qui coniecti in uno loco de heresi ad alia loca se transferunt, ut cautius possint effundere uirus hereticæ prauitatis, | <sup>13</sup> debitam uindictam subire censemus, ubi super hoc per viros ab eodem errore conversos ad fidem necnon alios, qui eos de heresi conuincerunt, quod in hoc casu licite concedimus faci | <sup>14</sup> endum, euident testimonium habeatur. Item mortis sententie duximus adicendos, si quos hereticorum ad iudicium tractos in extremo uite periculo heresim abiurantes postmo | <sup>15</sup> dum de falso juramento constiterit et fide mentita conuinci ac eos contigerit eiusdem morbi spontaneam incurere recidiam, ut sibi dampnabilius iniquitas sit mentita et pe | <sup>16</sup> nam debitam mendacium non euadat. Omne insuper proclamationis et apellationis beneficium ab hereticis receptoribus et fautoribus eorundem penitus amouemus, uolentes ut de | <sup>17</sup> finibus alemannie, in qui-

organization of a rigidly official system of administration, in which, in contravention of all mediæval views, office was not to be regarded as a fief, but as a part in a strictly graduated bureaucratic machine, in which each individual was held to the exact discharge of his duties by the most stringent methods of surveillance. But withal there was wanting the needful discrimination between the different

bus semper extitit fida fides, hereticæ labis geminâ modis omnibus deleantur. Ceterum quia quanto maiora diuino mun. miserationis accepinus et altiore | <sup>19</sup> locum pre filiis hominum optinemus, tanto denotiora debemus obsequia gratitudinis conferenti. Si quando igitur in nostri maledicos nominis nostri culminis excandescat auctoritas, si lese- | <sup>20</sup> maestatis reos in personis eorum et suorum liberorum exheredatione dampnamus, multo dignius iustisque contra diuini blasphematores nominis et catholice detrectatores fidei pronocamus | <sup>20</sup> eorundem hereticorum receptatorum, fautorum et aduocatorum suorum heredes et posteros usque ad secundum progeniem beneficiis cunctis temporalibus, publicis officiis et honoribus imperiali aucto | <sup>21</sup> ritate priuantes, ut in paterni memoria criminis continuo merore tabescant. Vere scientes, quia Deus zelotes est peccata patrum in filios potentur ulciscens, nec id a misericordie fini | <sup>22</sup> bus duximus excludendum, ut si qui paterne heresis non sequaces latentem patrum perditionem reuelarint, quæcumque reatus illorum animaduersione plectatur predietæ priuationi non subiacent | <sup>23</sup> innocentia filiorum. Ad hoc notum fieri volumus universis, Priorem et fratres ordinis predicatorum de prem. pro fidei negotio in partibus teutonicis contra hereticos deputatos, | <sup>24</sup> fideles nostros, ceteros quoque qui ad hereticos indicandos accesserint et conuenerint, nisi eorum aliqui ab imperio sint proscripti, eundo, morando et redeundo sub nostra et imperii speciali | <sup>25</sup> detentione receptos et quod eis apud omnes sub ope ac recommendatione fidelium imperii esse volumus inoffensos, universitati nostre mandantes, quatinus quocumque et apud quemcumque nostrum | <sup>26</sup> peruenerint, benigne recipiatis eosdem et personas eorum ab incursu hereticorum eis insidiantium conseruantes incolumes, omne consilium, ducatum et auxilium impendatis pro tam acceptis eo | <sup>27</sup> rum domino negociis exequendis, hereticos uero, quos deprehenderit et ostenderit ipsi nobis in iurisdictione uestra, singulari capientes diligentia custodia detinendos, donec post ecclesiasticæ | <sup>28</sup> dampnationis iudicium penam subeant, quam merentur. Scituri quod in executione ipsius negocii gratiam coram deo et laudabile coram nobis conferetis obsequium, si ad abo | <sup>29</sup> lendam de partibus alemannie novam et insolitam hereticæ infamiam prauitatis opem et operam una cum eisdem fratribus prestiteritis efficacem. Et si quis foret exinde negligens | <sup>30</sup> et remissus, inutilis coram domino et in conspectu nostro poterit merito culpabilis apparere. Datum Rauenne. Anno domini incarnationis millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo secundo, | <sup>31</sup> Mense Martii. Quinte Indictionis.

## TRANSLATION.

Frederick, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans and always Augustus, king of Jerusalem and Sicily, to his beloved princes, venerable archbishops, bishops and other prelates of the Church, dukes, margraves, counts, barons, bailiffs, burggraves, advocates, judges, ministers, and officers, and unto all set in power throughout the whole empire, that shall read these presents, to his faithful ones — grace and all blessedness. The care of the royal power committed to us by Heaven, and the majesty of the imperial dignity given by God, impel us to draw the secular sword which we wield, as distinct from the priestly, against the enemies of the faith, and for the extermination of the sin of heresy, in order that the serpent-like sons of doubt, who have arisen against the Lord and the Church, as it were destroyers of their own mother's womb, may be followed up by us with justice and judgment, and that the

branches of the executive,—the lay, the military, and the judicial,—all whose functions were often combined in the same individual, so that the feature of autocratic despotism and cabinet caprice pervaded everything, and became the source of severely felt oppression. The Grand-Justiciary was the supreme head, not only of the judicial branch, but almost of all others, and as such stood at the head of

wicked be not suffered to live, through whose seductive learning the world is affected, the flock of the faithful by these diseased sheep being visited with a graver taint. Accordingly we have established and ordained that heretics, by whatever name they are known, wherever they are condemned throughout the empire by the Church and committed to the secular tribunals, shall be punished with a fit punishment. It, however, any of the aforesaid, after they shall have been punished, terrified by the fear of death, desire to return to the unity of the faith, they shall, in accordance with the canonical laws, be put into perpetual imprisonment, in order to do penance. Furthermore, whatever heretics are found in cities, villages, or other places, through the inquisitors appointed by the apostolic seat, and through other supporters of the orthodox faith, [shall by] all those who there have jurisdiction, at the information of inquisitors and other men of the Catholic faith, be held and guarded when taken more closely until they are condemned by the decision of the Church and perish as those should perish who despise the sacraments of the faith and of life. We ordain also that to a similar punishment shall all others be condemned whom the craft of the subtle enemy has moved to support the errors of the heretics, and has made defenders of the same, since their crime is equal to that of those whom they support, unless they desist upon due warning and take thought for their welfare. Furthermore, those persons who, convicted in one place of heresy, betake themselves to other places that they may the more unnoticed spread abroad the poison of the sin of heresy, we ordain shall be subject to proper punishment, when on this point clear testimony is offered by men converted from the same error to the faith and by others who convict them of heresy, — a thing which in this case we declare lawful. We ordain that sentence of death shall be passed upon heretics about whom it is established that when brought to judgment and exposed to the penalty of death they have abjured their heresy and yet afterwards have been found guilty of perjury and have voluntarily relapsed into their earlier sin. And this we do that their falsehood may be the more punished, and that their lying may not escape its due penalty. Furthermore, the benefit of appeal we expressly deny to all holders of heresy and supporters of the same, in order that from the borders of Germany, in which ever has existed the true faith, the germs of the disease of heresy may in all possible ways be eradicated. Again, since we have received by the divine will so much mercy and hold a higher place before the children of men, we owe unto him who has conferred these things upon us the greater service. If our anger arises against those who speak ill of our dignity, if we condemn in their own persons and in their descendants those who are guilty of *lese majestatis*, much the more fitly and justly do we declare against the blasphemers of the divine name and defamers of the Catholic faith, and deprive all heirs and descendants of the same maintainers of heresy, their supporters and advocates, even to the second generation, of all temporal benefits, public honors and offices, through our imperial authority, that they may, remembering their ancestors' crime, waste away in continual grief. And yet, although we are well assured that God is a jealous God and visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, we have determined that the boundaries of our mercy shall extend to those who, not following the heresy of their fathers, reveal their secret guilt, howsoever their fathers may have been punished, that the innocent sons shall not be exposed to the same judgment. Wherefore we wish it to be known by all that

the official hierarchy. The financial side of the administration was especially accentuated, so that it acquired a pronounced fiscal character, and pressed more and more heavily on the land and its people (Fig. 84). Frederick's chief care was to provide ample sources of



FIG. 84. — Coins of Emperor Frederick II.  
(From Seroux d'Agincourt.)

revenue. This led to the creation of multitudinous state monopolies, as of grain, salt, iron, copper, and raw silk, the erection of custom-houses, and a stringent tax-system. The nine provinces of the land were comprehended in five financial districts, each with its own treasury for the receipt and disbursement of all state revenues. This organization taxed the resources of the land to the utmost, but naturally also exhausted them very quickly. The army and

navy demanded enormous sums. The former, with the feudal host as its basis, was supplemented by mercenaries, among whom the Arabs held a leading place. For military purposes the kingdom was divided into two captaincies, each comprising three to five military posts. The pressure of this rigorous bureaucratic organization became quite intolerable when Frederick, after the renewal of the

the Prior and Brothers of the Order of Preachers at Bremen, who in matters of the faith are endowed with full power against the heretics for Germany, our faithful subjects, and also other persons who go and come for the purpose of condemning heretics, with the exception of those who are under the ban of the empire, shall in their going, tarrying, and returning, be taken under our special protection and that of the empire, and that it is our will that they shall everywhere be kindly received and protected by the faithful in the empire. And we command you all to receive them hospitably, from whatever source they may come and to whom they may be going, and that ye protect their persons safe from the attacks of all heretics that lie in wait for them, grant them attendance and assistance for the execution of what is so well pleasing to the Lord, whereas ye shall arrest all heretics whom they arrest or designate to you within your jurisdiction, and shall faithfully hold them in bonds until they suffer their due punishment in accordance with the verdict of the church; since ye must know that in the execution of this task ye win favor with God, and perform a praiseworthy service for us, whenever for the purpose of blotting out from all parts of Germany this new and strange stain of heresy ye help the brothers aforesaid, and that whosoever is therein lax or indifferent must justly appear guilty before God and in our eyes. Given at Ravenna, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord, 1232, in the month of March, in the fifth of the indiction.



conflict with Rome, increased its stringency in 1240, subordinating all other authority to the military, and placing the Grand-Justiciary and the Captain-General at the head of the whole administration.

Through this organic legislation, Frederick believed he had constituted his Sicilian kingdom an impregnable support for the conquest of Italy, and, at the same time, laid the foundation for a universal Hohenstaufen sovereignty, to which the papacy itself would have to bow. In marvellous contrast to his severe monarchical arrangements here, was the manner in which he left Germany, as it were, to itself, — nay, favored its transformation into a confederation of princes, who assumed the functions and prerogatives which in Sicily were rigorously reserved for the king. In Frederick's policy Germany played no rôle. To the fatherland of his race he ever remained an unconcerned stranger, or concerned only in so far as not to allow German complications to cross his grand purpose. Thus Germany and Italy, though under the same ruler, became more and more estranged, ultimately to come into a state of opposition detrimental to Frederick's whole position.

On his first return to Italy, Frederick had left the able and patriotic Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne as his vicegerent in Germany. This prelate's rule constituted the last period of happiness and prosperity which the country was to enjoy for many years. Tranquillity and peace were secured, and, almost in opposition to the emperor, a vigorous German policy was pursued. For while Frederick had purchased his recognition by Waldemar II. of Denmark by the facile cession of the lands beyond the Elbe which had been conquered by Henry the Lion, the German barons there trusted their own right hands for the defence of their rights. Waldemar was defeated, July 23, 1227, at Bornhöved, and compelled to make a humiliating peace. Engelbert of Cologne was murdered by the reckless Count of Isenburg, in 1225, and the administration of the kingdom passed to the emperor's youthful son, Henry, who had been crowned king at Aix in 1222 (cf. Figs. 85, 86), and was wedded to Margaret, the rich heiress of Leopold V. of Austria. Frivolous and dissolute, Henry showed himself neither competent nor inclined to devote himself to the duties of his position, but, as regarded his policy, he was disposed rather to take his own way, indifferent as to whether this crossed his father's plans or not. This was in one respect fortunate, for it prevented the full execution of Frederick's new policy in regard to the imperial cities. By the diet of Worms,

in 1231, their privileges were taken away and they were made practically helpless against the nobles. The motive of the decree was of course to secure the support of the princes for Frederick's schemes of aggrandizement.

It was fortunate for Germany that this edict of the Worms diet was not carried out to the letter. Had this been the case, Germany's future would have been doomed irretrievably. Furthermore, it was

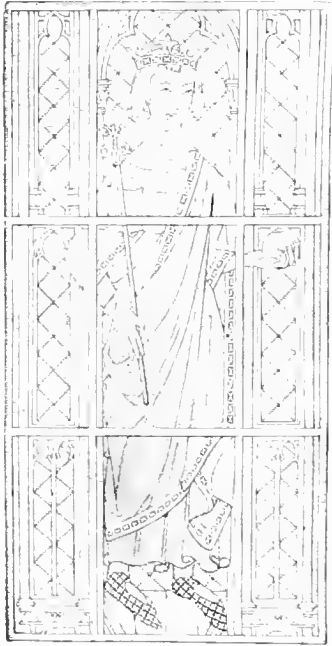


FIG. 85. — Costume of a king in the thirteenth century. Stained glass window in the choir of Cologne Cathedral. (From v. Hefner-Alteneck.)



FIG. 86. — Costume of a bishop in the thirteenth century. Painting, of about 1200, in the Cathedral at Worms. (From v. Hefner-Alteneck.)

a blessing for the country, that, at the same moment when the privileges of the towns were withdrawn by imperial legislation, a restriction was imposed on the princes which rendered the arbitrary use of their power in regard to the cities (Fig. 87) at least difficult. The purposed abrogation of civic liberty was concurrent with the enhancement of the power of the provincial estates of the empire, in which the prince enjoyed, indeed, his rights intact, but could introduce no innovation without the consent of the local diet.

The young King Henry stood amid all these diverse and conflicting influences. He was light-minded and unreliable, but autocratic, and, as it seems, already dallying with the perilous thought of setting himself against his father. His deportment as regent was far from satisfactory to Frederick, and he was more than once reprimanded accordingly. This aggravated his discontent, and estranged him from his father altogether. Ultimately, in 1232, he was called on to give an account of his proceedings at Ravenna, but gave no heed to the summons, and not till required to appear in his father's presence, at a diet at Civitate, did the misguided youth think of compliance. There he was earnestly rebuked, professed repentance, and was forgiven. But the emperor felt he must be on his guard against his son, who seemed ready to follow the example of Henry V., and ally himself with the Curia and the nobles against him. Certain princes of the empire had to pledge themselves to renounce him in the event of his breaking troth with the emperor. In any case, King Henry, if he persevered in his ill advised course, had no help to look to from Germany. But to his ruin he found encouragement in some of his unscrupulous boon companions. He attempted to raise troops in Germany against his father, and intrigued with the Lombard cities. On Frederick's appearance (Fig. 88) north of the Alps, in 1234, the movement fell to pieces. King Henry made his submission, and, stripped of all his prerogatives, was carried as a state prisoner across the Alps. He died in Apulia in 1242.

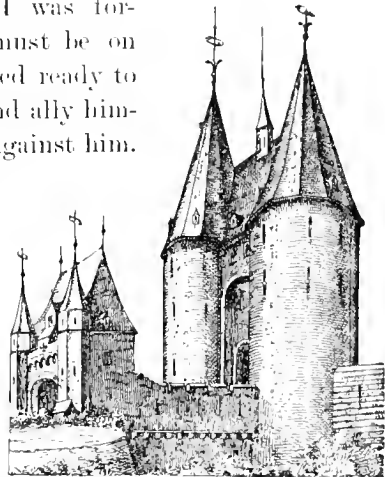


FIG. 87. — The former 'Cologne Gate' at Aix-la-Chapelle. Thirteenth century. (From Jahns.)

Frederick's German policy, questionable as it seems to us, had thus stood the test. He had ground for hoping that, in the prosecution of his grandiose designs, he would find no such impediments as had been fatal to more than one of his predecessors. In order to insure the good will of the German princes, and secure himself against their declaring for any future adversary, he was well pleased to satisfy himself with the diminished authority which

the civil war between Philip and Otto had left the crown. Therefore he desired also to see the differences between his house and that of Welf definitely accommodated. At a brilliant diet at Mayence, where he celebrated his marriage with Isabella, sister of Henry III. of England, and a near relative of Otto IV., he transformed the domains of Brunswick and Goslar and of the county of Stade into the duchy of Lüneburg, and enfeoffed Otto, the youngest son of his former rival, with it. The world was thus to be purged of the last reminiscence of the great struggle between the houses of Welf and Hohenstaufen. This diet marks the climax in Frederick's career: although his power rose still higher, when, in 1236, suppressing a rising in Austria under Duke Frederick the Warlike, he



FIG. 88. — Golden imperial bulla of Frederick II. The so-called bulla of Zeitz, A.D. 1237.

Obv.: The emperor seated upon a high-backed throne, in his right hand his sceptre with a double cross, in his left the imperial globe with cross. Legend: FRIDERIC DI GRA ROMANOR IMPATOR ET SEP AVGV (continued in the field in) ST ET REX JERLEM SICILIE.

Rev.: Building with a central tower, and four other towers. Legend: ROMA CAPVT MVNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTVNDI. (From Helfner.)

placed that province under an imperial governor, and brought it under the direct authority of the crown. At the diet of Spire, in 1237, the princes chose his son Conrad as his successor.

Immediately upon these successes began that direful conflict in which the proud structure of the revived imperial power was to sink in ruins. The long-threatening war with the Lombard cities burst out. Under the impulse of his Austrian victory, the emperor was able to assemble a strong German army, at the head of which he entered Lombardy, in August, 1237. Forming a junction with his Arab mercenaries, he demanded the immediate dissolution of the con-

federacy, and unreserved recognition of the claims of the empire. These terms being refused, he, in disregard of the pope's offered mediation, forthwith began hostilities. Pressing westward from the Veronese mark, he captured Mantua, and then pitched his camp over against that of the Lombards, at the mouth of the Oglio, where their position, however, was too strong to admit of attack. Misled by his withdrawal, they disbanded their army, when he fell on the retiring soldiers, near Cortenuova (November 27), and inflicted a crushing defeat on them, capturing their standard, and many prisoners of rank. Lombardy lay at his feet: and, on condition of being left the choice of their consuls, Milan itself, with Brescia, Alessandria, Piacenza, and Bergamo offered their submission. But Frederick had no place in his empire for a free citizen class: their submission must be unconditional. Nor could the emperor doubt of his ability to compel this when he looked at the array with which he was surrounded on Whitsunday, 1238, at Verona. The embassies of foreign princes pressed emulously around him: the envoys of conquered cities came to receive his commands: Florence and Genoa pledged him fealty. Attended by a stately following of German and Burgundian nobles, Conrad IV. appeared at his father's court, to be present at the marriage of the emperor's natural daughter, Selvaggia, with the powerful Ezzelino da Romano.

This celebrated, the emperor again took the field against the Lombards. After a siege of three months he had to leave Brescia uncaptured: and this, his first rebuff, inspired his enemies with new courage. The Roman Curia believed that the time had come when it was called on to take a part. It was not difficult to find a pretext. During the siege of Brescia, Frederick had married his natural son, Enzo, with the widowed Adelasia, heiress of a part of the island of Sardinia, to which the church laid claim in virtue of the bequest of Matilda. Henceforth the youth used the title of King of Sardinia. In this step the papacy saw a new link added to the chain that was to bind Italy and the church to the Hohenstaufen rule. Frederick offered to indemnify the church if he had infringed upon its rights, and entered on negotiations with it. But Gregory IX. did not wish for peace. Now, after the emperor's defeat at Brescia, and when the eager and devoted co-operation of the Lombard cities was assured, it seemed to him that the hour had come for a general attack upon the empire. Abruptly breaking off the unfinished negotiations, on Palm Sunday, 1239, he re-pronounced the ban upon the emperor, releasing

his peoples from fealty to him, and cursing every place where he might tarry.

This was the beginning of a life and death struggle. All the impassioned fury which the unnatural alliance of the last years had restrained now burst on Frederick's head with elemental violence. The correspondence between him and the pope expresses a degree of malevolence, and a thirst for each other's destruction, to which scarcely any age furnishes a parallel. The war of the investiture was once more renewed with tenfold fierceness, and soon reached a point that admitted of settlement only by the ruin of the one or the other antagonist. The struggle was not a mere personal one between Frederick and Gregory IX.; it lay between the universal empire and the universal church, which were striving with each other for the future sway of Christendom, and the control of the world's development. The first assailant was undoubtedly the church. Not to be completely overshadowed, and finally reduced to servitude, Gregory availed himself of the first hopeful moment to rally all the powers threatened by a world-dominating empire for a common onset on Frederick's position. Like Alexander III. in his contest with Frederick I., Gregory IX. posed as the defender of freedom against imperial despotism. Frederick's attitude towards the Lombard cities gave an appearance of justification to this rôle: and yet Lombardy, and Italy generally, were to endure a yet worse yoke than the emperor's through their connection with the Curia.

The struggle first burst forth in Italy. In the middle districts, the mark of Ancona and the duchy of Spoleto adhered to the emperor, while the cities of Tuscany and Umbria were nearly all against him. In Upper Italy, Ezzelino da Romano held the cities of Cremona, Modena, Parma, Mantua, and others which were true to the emperor, and fought unweariedly against Milan, Bologna, Genoa, and Venice, which, with Azzo of Este and Alberic da Romano, were the leaders in the adverse league. The direction of the war Frederick committed to the chivalric Enzo, whom he appointed his vicerent for Italy. But papal intrigues soon invaded Germany also. In Austria, Frederick the Warlike rose anew. Otto of Bavaria and King Wenceslaus of Bohemia contemplated revolt: nay, in the summer of 1239, the elevation of an anti-king was agitated at Eger. But most menacing of all for the emperor was, beyond question, the ferment which began to work in his Sicilian kingdom. Only with an iron hand could he repress the papal agents. Executions

and confiscations of church lands spread terror among the papal party for a time.

With tireless energy Frederick sought to meet the demands of the struggle, which now assumed ever greater proportions, but was soon forced to admit the conviction of the insufficiency of his resources. Money failed him; and notwithstanding the merciless pressure put upon it, Sicily was no longer able to supply the needful means, and the emperor saw himself compelled to have recourse to a forced currency of leather dollars. All the more eagerly did he strive to strike down his main enemy. If the pope were once overpowered, he could then hope to deal effectually with the Lombard cities. In February, 1240, therefore, he appeared before Rome. But, with unbroken spirit, Gregory prepared for a desperate resistance; and Frederick withdrew without venturing an attack. The pope became still more arrogant; and the whole church was called on, in the most envenomed terms, to strip this 'King of the Pestilence'



FIG. 89. — Coin of Jenghiz Khan. Original size. (Berlin. Royal Cabinet of Coins.)

of his sway. An ecumenical council was summoned to meet at Rome. This Frederick must hinder at any price. He caused the Genoese fleet, on board which many prelates had embarked, to be waylaid by Enzo; and on May 3, 1241, it was almost entirely captured. Some hundreds of church dignitaries fell into the conqueror's hands, and were confined at Capua. Otherwise, too, Gregory fell into dire straits. In Rome itself the imperial party arose under Cardinal Colonna. Frederick, confident that victory was within his grasp, was hurrying thither at the head of his army, when terrible tidings staid his advance at Spoleto. The Mengols, — whose scattered tribes Temuchin (also known as Jenghiz Khan, 'great khan') (Fig. 89), had, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, formed into a most formidable robber-people, — after overrunning Central Asia, had penetrated, under Batu, the great khan's grandson, into Eastern Europe, subdued Russia and the brave Magyars, and, after devastating the Illyrian and Dalmatian coast-lands, were now threatening Germany.

A frightful peril impended over Germany, and, indeed, over western civilization. While the two chiefs of Christendom were engaged in a struggle to the death, a deluge of barbarism was rolling westward that threatened to engulf both them and their peoples irretrievably. This might well have been an effectual admonition to peace, and Frederick was Christian enough to listen to it. He not only ceased his march on Rome, but invited Gregory to reconciliation, so that he might be free to roll back the Mongol wave. But in Gregory's eyes the rescue of Christian civilization was a small matter as weighed against papal supremacy. However, his ultimate decision on this matter was spared him. Instead of forcing their way from Hungary through Austria to Germany, the Mongol hordes turned northwards, conquered Poland, and burst across the Oder into Silesia. On April 9, 1241, they triumphed over the chivalry of that province, under Henry the Pious, at Liegnitz, but themselves suffered such losses that they turned their faces eastward. Germany was delivered, and no longer required the help of either pope or emperor. So the conflict, after a short and deceptive respite, again took its course. The imperialists scoured the country around the holy city, pillaging and burning. Gregory, unmoved by the misery he had brought on his people, was as far from any thoughts of peace as ever when death carried him off the scene, August 21, 1241.

There were now grounds for hoping that a change in the direction of peace might set in. That Gregory's policy was not dictated by regard to the interests of the church, but much more by worldly ambition and personal hate, had been made clear by his attitude in regard to the Mongol invasion. The emperor, in the hope of now bringing about more friendly relations, liberated the cardinals held captive in Capua, so that they might take part in the conclave to elect a pope. There the strife of parties was virulent. While the factions of the nobles and the people of the city demanded a speedy decision, the cardinals wasted a month without taking a step. Many of them, indeed, had, through dread of violence, fled the city, when, on November 1, the Cardinal Bishop Godfrey of Sabina, a Milanese, secured the election. On his death, nine days afterwards, the disorders were renewed with greater violence than before. The senate and populace drove the remaining electors out of the city, and, no other conclave being attempted, the papal chair remained vacant for fully two years; while, in and around Rome, a civil war



raged that threatened to convert the region into a desert, and exhausted the strength of all the contending parties. Nor did Frederick, who more than once scoured the country up to the city walls, gain any decided advantage; but, bowed with grief, owing to the death of his English spouse in December, 1241, and of his dethroned, but still beloved, son Henry, in February, 1242, saw his strength wasted in a futile struggle.

But the disappearance of all order in the church affected not only Rome and the empire. With the disappearance of the papacy, there vanished that authority which had constituted the corner-stone in the ecclesiastico-political constitution of the West for centuries. Was society to see itself sacrificed to party-interests? Among the powers who had taken no part in the great conflict, the idea of independent action began to take shape. What the Romish church could no longer do for them—or would not—the separate nations must try to do for themselves by giving their churches a national constitution. This was the idea of Louis IX. of France especially, in whose kingdom the clergy, mindful of the old Gallican independence, desired to appoint a head for themselves. But this would have imperilled the existence of the papacy, and trodden the power and glory of the hierarchy under foot. The cardinals, therefore, made a new effort for unity; and in June, 1243, the cardinal-priest Senibaldi Fieschi, Count of Lavagna, was raised to the pontifical chair. He assumed the name of Innocent IV., a step which implied a programme disappointing to the friends of moderation and peace. Devoid of the moral dignity and the ideality that elevated his great prototype, he strove for power for its own sake, and was prone to move towards his object by indirect ways,—nay, in case of need, by wile and misrepresentation. To gratify a personal passion, his purpose was to base the world-dominion of the papacy on the ruins of the empire. In accord with this aim, he at first made believe that he was ready to satisfy the general desire for an equitable peace: and accordingly he answered Frederick's congratulations on his elevation. Yet even Frederick is said to have expressed the fear that he had lost a well-disposed cardinal and found a hostile pope.

Innocent, it is evident, never had a wish for agreement, as is shown by the fact that, after he had proposed terms very favorable to the church, and Frederick had assented to them, he at once insisted on new conditions, to concede which was manifestly impossible. His object, all though the negotiations, was simply to saddle Frede-

rick with the responsibility for their predestined failure. Meanwhile, in order to show himself in the light of a martyr for the church, hounded from his home, all had been prepared for his flight from Rome and Italy, his object being to make the blow he was about to strike the emperor appear as an act of self-defence. He was carried

by sea to Genoa, whence he proceeded to Lyons in France, where he took up his abode. Thither he summoned a general council for the summer of 1245, to deliberate on the deliverance of the Holy Land, the protection of the Latin empire of Constantinople, the repulse of the Mongols, and his quarrel with the emperor. That the real object of the assembly was simply the solemn promulgation of a sentence prepared beforehand was in keeping with the character of the conflict and of the adversaries. At Easter, 1245, the pope repronounced the anathema against Frederick and King Enzo. Attempts at mediation remained fruitless, as a matter of course. Frederick appears to have contemplated hindering the meeting of the council by violence; but he thought better of it, and deputed Thaddens of Suessa to appear at Lyons as his advocate.

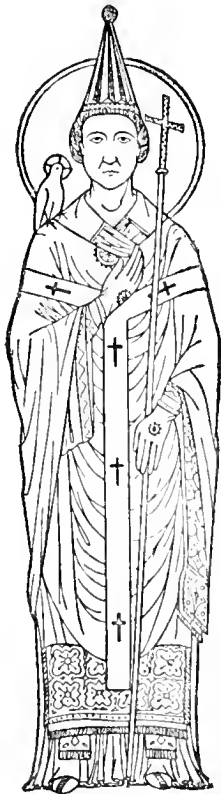


FIG. 90. — Statue of a Pope, thirteenth century. In the Cathedral at Chartres. (Ann. arch.)

The council was opened June 28, 1245, Germany and England being practically unrepresented; Italian and French prelates were present in large numbers. Innocent (Fig. 90), in his opening speech, inveighed with special virulence against the emperor, declaring that of all his sins, the violence he had planned against his own sacred person was the most heinous, involving, as it did, heresy, sacrilege, and enormities of all kinds. Instead of answering him, Thaddens offered new, and generally more favorable, terms of peace, and pledged the emperor's succor, after his release from the ban, to the Christians in the Holy Land and Constantinople. No answer was deigned him. In the second sitting of the council, on July 5, the pope, with tears and lamentations, brought new and unheard of accusations against Frederick. His intercourse with Mohammed-

dans and his voluptuous life were charged against him as evidences of unbelief; while, by not fulfilling his pledge to Honorius III., he was guilty of breach of troth. Thaddens easily showed that these charges were groundless, yet Innocent would at once have pronounced sentence had he not been induced by the French and English envoys to allow the imperial advocate a respite for the production of new evidence.

On learning what had been done at Lyons, Frederick despatched four additional commissioners to support Thaddens of Suessa. But the die had been already cast, not by the council, in which Innocent seems not to have had entire confidence, but by the pope in concert with the cardinals; and the decree was already formulated by which Frederick was to be pronounced guilty of all the charges brought against him. He was branded before Christendom as an outcast from human-kind, a prince of lies, an adept in ferocity, a follower of unrighteousness, the hammer of the whole earth, a tyrant who must be struck down as a warning to other princes. He was, more specifically, charged with the death of his own son, Henry, of his three wives, and of Gregory IX.

Even before the arrival of the new imperial commissioners the third sitting of the council was, without regard to Thaddens of Suessa's protest, fixed for July 17. There the decree of condemnation, which the majority of the French and Spanish prelates present had already approved by their subscription, was read. The pope — in virtue of his power to plant and root out — deposed Frederick (Fig. 91) from his throne; and the emperor's subjects, on pain of the ban, were forbidden to pay him allegiance. In regard to Sicily, as a fief of the church, Innocent would make disposition later. In Germany the princes were to take steps towards a new election. Pontiff and cardinals chanted the *Te Deum*, and extinguished the torches held in their hands. Thus should the lamp of the cursed emperor's life be quenched out.

All regard for the emperor had thus been definitely set aside. A peace was not to be thought of. In Germany, under the leadership of the papal legate, Bishop Philip of Ferrara, Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, was elevated as anti-king, without, however, finding general recognition, or being regarded as head of the realm by the stronger princes. Against him Conrad IV. fought with varying success. In February, 1217, an early death relieved him from the thankless and unworthy rôle he had undertaken. A

change of sentiment showed itself even in England and France. Henry III. and Louis IX. could not, without anxiety, be witnesses of the manner which Innocent's theories in regard to temporal supremacy were finding a realization that lowered the dignity of their crowns. Both expressed their sympathy with the emperor, though neither was in a position to lend active help. But military success was denied Frederick. He failed in his attempt to recapture Parma. His fortified camp, prematurely named *Victoria*, was attacked by



FIG. 91. — Seal of Emperor Frederick II. as King of Jerusalem. The emperor seated upon an elaborate throne; in his right hand a sceptre with cross and lily; in his left the imperial globe. Legend. † FRIDERICVS DE GRA IMPERATOR RO . . . ORV SEMP AVGSTV. In the field REX — IERLM. (From an impression in the British Museum.)

the besieged force and burned to the ground, the imperial army fleeing in wild disorder. Frederick himself was absent on a hunting-expedition; but an immense booty, including the crown and the great seal, fell into the conquerors' hands. The emperor's power in Italy was now shaken to its foundation. Desertion became general. Even trusted confidants and personal attendants made their peace with his enemies. Frederick was isolated. Thaddæus of Suessa had fallen before Parma. The imperial chancellor, Peter

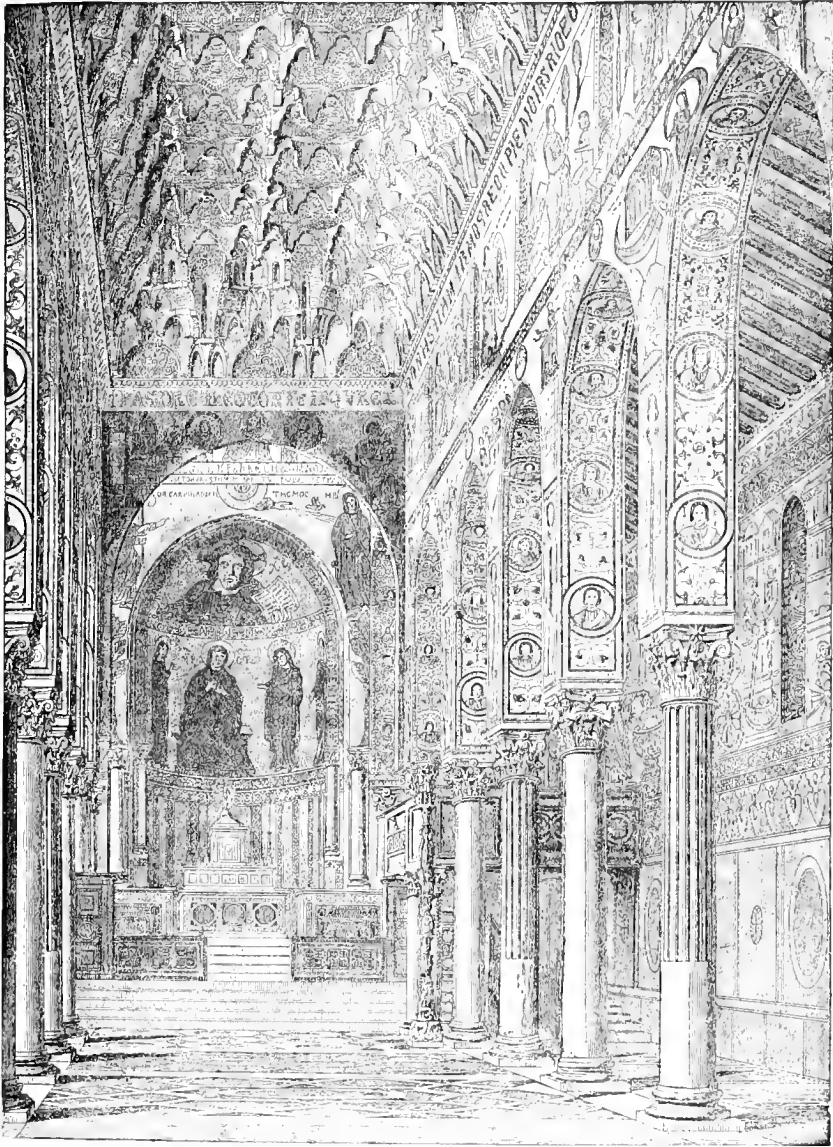


FIG. 92. — The royal chapel (*capella palatina*), in the palace of Norman kings at Palermo, 1129-1140. (From Gailhabaud.)

of Vinea, is said to have made an attempt on the emperor's life by poison, and to have escaped retribution by suicide. But more than all was Frederick affected by the capture by the Bolognese of his favorite King Enzo, at the battle of Fossalta in 1249, and his

condemnation to life-long imprisonment. Regardless of the exhaustion of the land, preparations for a new campaign were begun on a grand scale; but before the emperor could appear on the field he sickened and died, on December 19, 1250. Enveloped in the cowl of a Cistercian monk, and absolved by the archbishop of Palermo, he gave up his spirit in the arms of his tenderly loved illegitimate youngest son, Manfred. A Norman-Sicilian by birth and sentiment, he was laid to rest in the cathedral of Palermo (cf. Fig. 92).

By Frederick's death the great conflict was decided, and the subjection of the empire made inevitable. Joyfully was the news of his death hailed in Lyons, where the papalists hastened to tear down and destroy the ruins of the proud structure his race had labored to raise. His seed and his very name Innocent would gladly have seen obliterated. But in the more unworldly, pious circles, who saw in the temporal dominancy of the papacy an apostasy from the true calling of the church, there were many who bewailed the death of the emperor, in whom they recognized the Antichrist who was to destroy the degenerate church, in order to prepare the way for the true church and the millennium. As Frederick had not fulfilled this mission, they maintained he could not have died; and from this arose the strange conception that he was not actually dead, but had only withdrawn from the world for a season, to reappear at the appointed time, and complete the work given him by Heaven to do. With this mystical fantasy, propagated by the Joachinites, was blended in course of time the ancient Nero myth. Frederick II. was expected to return, not to restore the glory of the empire, but to complete the ruin of the degenerate church. Not till much later was the original contents and meaning of the myth wrongly remodelled in a national sense, and applied to Frederick I.

In the restoration of the empire no one took an interest. The Hohenstaufens succumbed everywhere, and only their embittered foes could witness the tragic end of the once mighty race without the deepest emotion.

In Germany, Conrad IV. (Fig. 93) fought indecisively against William of Holland, the successor, in the degraded and powerless anti-kingship, of Henry Raspe. It was the loyal help of the German cities that enabled him to prosecute the contest; while he in return made over to them manifold rights and immunities, in virtue of which they, in spite of the decree of Worms, were able to confirm and extend their liberties, sorely threatened by the growing power

of the princes. Amid all the chaos breaking in on Germany, the cities saved for the German people the possibility of a better future. But Conrad soon gave up the dubious contest in Germany to rescue his hereditary kingdom. There Innocent had, as suzerain, abrogated all Frederick's grand legislative work, and caused desertion and treachery to be preached to the subjects. While Ezzelino da Romano maintained the Hohenstaufen cause, and that of his own house, in Upper Italy, Conrad gained some successes in Lower Italy, in particular capturing Naples and Capua. All the more furiously did Innocent, who now held his court in Rome, assail him. As in the



FIG. 93.— Seal of King Conrad IV. Legend: + CONRAD: DIVI • AVGTI IMPIS FRIDERICI FILI DI GRA ROMAOR • J REGÈ • ELECT: in the field, HER-S JERLM. (From an impression in the British Museum.)

case of his father, charges, partly fabricated, partly exaggerated, were hurled at him. He was even accused of having caused the death of his half-brother Henry. A doom seemed to impend over the race, and there was joy and rejoicing in the papal camp as one premature death after another threatened the 'Babylonian breed' with extinction. At Easter, 1254, Innocent renewed the ban against Conrad, while Ezzelino was cast out of the church as a heretic and an enemy of the human race, and his brother, Alberic, instigated to take up arms against him. In Sicily an anti-king, who would carry out the wishes of the pope, was selected, in the person of Prince

Edmund of England, the son of Henry III. But the English estates denied the needed aid to the youth who had consented to play this rôle against his Ghibelline cousin. Conrad was on the eve of carrying the war into Middle and Upper Italy, when he was cut off by death, on May 21, 1254, in his camp near Melfi.

His heir was a child, Conradin (Conradino), whom, in the hope of disarming a potent foe and securing his future, his father, on his deathbed, committed to the guardianship of Innocent himself. The regency of the Sicilian kingdom was intrusted to the Margrave Conrad of Hohenburg. But he proved utterly incompetent, and himself begged Manfred, son of Frederick II., to assume the office. Manfred, after an effort at reconciliation with Innocent, boldly stood out against him and his successor, Alexander IV. (1254-1261), and in 1258 even recovered Sicily. The Hohenstaufen rule was restored in the Sicilio-Apulian kingdom; and the sorely-afflicted land prospered under the careful administration of the mild and kindly Manfred, who seemed to have inherited all the best and most lovable traits of his father. A child of the land, in whom the people trusted, he appeared to revive the happiest times of the national monarchy, though he only represented his nephew, Conradin, now in far-off Germany. Suddenly a report of the latter's death was spread; and forthwith the magnates, spiritual and lay, urged Manfred, as heir, to assume the kingly title, conformably to the testamentary disposition made by Frederick II. On August 11, 1258, he was anointed and crowned. When it was discovered that the report had been false, the coronation could no longer be undone. Still, it was justified from a national and utilitarian point of view, as offering the only solution of the situation which promised stability to the kingdom, and the continuation of the work so happily begun. Since the decease of the last Norman sovereign, the kingdom had not enjoyed a period of such domestic peace, such economic prosperity, and such intellectual and spiritual development. Manfred's court was for years the scene of a genial and brilliant life, embellished by the cultivation of poetry and philosophy, against which Alexander IV.'s assaults long proved harmless. And on the other provinces of Italy, also, this new order of things in the south had the best effect. Ezzelino da Romano was defeated and captured, sorely wounded, near Cassano, on the Adda, in 1259. He put an end to his life, by tearing the bandages from his wounds. His power was crushed, and his whole house doomed by the conquerors to bloody retribution. The



leadership of the Ghibellines of Upper Italy came now into the hands of Manfred, and he soon attained the same position in Tuscany. Italy was on the way to national independence, in support of which a league was in the process of formation under Manfred. The secular supremacy of the pope was at an end, and all the successes achieved by Innocent IV. and Alexander IV. had turned to ashes. The whole work of the papal policy, from Innocent III. onwards, was rendered void; and what it had attained in respect of the Hohenstaufens inured to the benefit, not of the Curia, but of the Italians, whom Rome had set free from German sway, without, however, making them subject to herself. To counter this movement, the Curia reverted to its old policy of making use of a foreign prince to destroy Manfred's power, and with it to crush out the germs of Italian national independence.

This policy was adopted by Alexander's successor, Urban IV. (1261-1265). In Louis IX.'s brother, Charles of Anjou, who by marriage was lord of Provence, a man filled with the lust for power and riches, tyrannical, and recoiling from no deed of blood, he found an instrument adapted to his purpose. But the claims urged by Charles were such as to retard an agreement till after the elevation of Urban's successor, Clement IV. (1265-1268). In June, 1265, Charles, in consideration of the restoration of Benevento to the church, of the renunciation of all influence in the appointment of bishops, and of a yearly tribute of 8000 ounces of gold, was invested as king of Sicily. With him came bands of Southern French adventurers in search of wealth and offices. What Italy had to expect from these, she learned from their excesses in their march through Lombardy and Tuscany. As Charles, after his coronation (January, 1266), advanced southwards, he was re-enforced by all the enemies of Manfred, who, on his part, hardly expected so sudden an inroad. Manfred, on entering on the decisive struggle, was surrounded by traitors, by lukewarm friends, and by companions in arms who thought mainly of their own interests. A variety of mischances befell him immediately on its opening, while the French advanced from victory to victory. Manfred was soon in full retreat. In the increasing unreliability of those left with him, and their constantly dwindling numbers, he saw that only a speedy victory could work his deliverance. The loyalty of his Saracens and his German comrades was all he had to depend on. On February 26, 1266, a battle ensued on the plain of Benevento. The superiority of the French

cavalry effected the defeat of King Manfred, who sought and found death on the field.

With this victory, Charles of Anjou (Fig. 94) was lord of the Sicilian kingdom; and this its people soon learned to their sorrow. An unparalleled reign of terror burst upon the land, Manfred's family being the victims of the most merciless persecution. His wife and three children closed their eyes in dismal bondage, their daughter alone regaining her liberty after twenty years' imprisonment. The headsman's axe was among the most merciful agents employed by Charles, whose excesses in cruelty were such as to move even Clement IV. to plead for mildness. The pontiff's intercessions fell on deaf ears. After his victory, Charles showed himself little mindful of his vows to the church, and a far from obedient



FIG. 94. — Gold coin of Charles of Anjou, king of Naples. Size of original. (Berlin.)

son. In possession of the kingdom, he imitated the Hohenstaufen in renouncing the pope's feudal superiority, or, at least, in reducing it to a mere name. The Curia itself was appalled before the ally it had called in to help it. Despair brooded over Italy. Too late did the people sigh over the happy days of King Manfred, whom they had repaid with such ingratitude. Only independent action promised deliverance. The mainstays of Ghibellinism, Pisa, Siena, Padua, Verona, Urbino, and Ferrara, began to draw closer together. From this

confederation issued the first invitation to Conradin to become, as heir of Sicily, the liberator of Italy. Risings took place here and there; even the Florentines wavered; and, in the spring of 1267, the French rule was threatened with a general revolt.



FIG. 95. — 1. Denarius of Ottocar II., of Bohemia. 2. Bohemian bracteate. (From Essenwein.)

Meanwhile Conradin had decided to give ear to the invitation. In Germany his cause was hopeless. After his father's death, the most of the adherents of his house had acknowledged Count Wil-

liam of Holland as king, to whom the imperial cities had, even before that, turned. On William being slain in a campaign against the Friesians, in 1256, two candidates presented themselves, — Richard of Cornwall, a brother of Henry III. of England, and Alfonso of Castile, related through his mother to the Hohenstaufens. But free as both were in disposing of the crown-lands and prerogatives to gain adherents, they remained powerless, while Ottocar of Bohemia



FIG. 96. — Seal of Conrad, Duke of Masovia. Impression in wax, attached by a cord of red silk to a document dated 1238. The duke is represented on horseback, in full armor; on his head a peaked helmet with visor. On his left arm he carries his shield; on his right a banner with the cross, referring to wars between the heathen Prussians and the Teutonic Order of which he was the founder. Legend: † [S] CONRADI DVCIS . . . DVC . . . IRIE LACICIE. (From Vossberg.)

(Fig. 95), courted by both parties, and invested by Richard with the vicegerency of all the lands east of the Rhine, had, by seizing Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, erected a German-Slavic power in the southeast. Feuds and robberies were universal; the sword was the sole arbiter; and Germany was threatened with economic ruin. The cities, especially those of North Germany, took measures to defend themselves. Lübeck and Hamburg, in



FIG. 97. Tombstone of Conrad, landgrave of Thuringia (died 1243), grand-master of the Teutonic Order. (Marburg.)

1241, entered into a league for the protection of their trade, while the Rhenish cities, — Mayence, Worms, Oppenheim, and Bingen, — in 1254, constituted themselves into the Rhenish League, so that the industrial prosperity of the German middle class was, in some measure at least, made secure against the baleful effects of the struggle for the throne. A striking contrast to the state of decadence into which Germany was sinking now appeared in the foundation by the religious-military order of the Teutonic Knights (Figs. 96, 97) of a new German state in Prussia beyond the Vistula. They insured its development in that half-depopulated region, in spite of the general opposition of its Slavie natives, by the exemplary excellence of its organization.

For inheritors of the Hohenstaufen name and traditions there was in Germany, under these circumstances, neither a place nor any prospect. The once rich possessions of the house had long been wasted away to a miserable fragment; and the contrast between its glorious past and its gloomy present could not but have made the deepest impression on the heart of the young Conradin. The call, therefore,

made on him by enthralled Italy for deliverance was well calculated to stimulate him to the most daringly aspiring plans. His mother's second marriage with Count Meinhard of Görz, lord of the Tyrol and Carinthia, made Germany intolerable to him. Thus Conradin readily made up his mind to respond to the cry of the Italian Ghibellines. He raised money by selling and pledging the remains of his possessions; his uncle, Louis of Bavaria, at whose court he had been brought up, and his mother and stepfather, gave ready aid. The summons to the adherents of the Hohenstaufen house was responded to readily and largely. The threatened German attack produced the greatest consternation in Rome, which Conradin sought to allay by the assurance that his expedition did not affect the pope, but the despoiler of his heritage, Charles of Anjou. The start was made from Augsburg; and the news that met Conradin on his way southward was promising. Charles, threatened in his rear by the ferment in Lower Italy, did not dare to advance farther than Tuscany to meet him. The Saracens in Lucera were in arms for the grandson of their revered sovereign; a national rising, prompted by Ghibellines, was imminent in Sicily. On his march, Conradin's strength was augmented by continuous re-enforcements. On the twenty-first of October he entered Verona at the head of 12,000 men, accompanied by his uncle, Louis of Bavaria, his stepfather, and the friend of his youth, Frederick of Austria (or Baden), the son of Hermann of Baden and of Gertrude, daughter of Frederick the Warlike.

After various minor operations, and when most of his German followers had gone home, the young prince, at the invitation of an embassy, entered Rome, on July 24, 1268.

Meanwhile Charles of Anjou had been besieging the insurgent Saracens in Lucera. He now hastened northwards to meet the approaching enemy. On August 23 the armies met near Scureola, in the Apennines. Conradin's troops by an impetuous attack broke the lines of the enemy, who fled to the mountains, completely demoralized by the report that the king had fallen. The Germans had already begun to plunder the hostile camp, when Charles, who had been coolly waiting his time, sprang from his ambushade with 800 horsemen (Fig. 98) on the disorganized Ghibellines, who, seized with panic terror, took to headlong flight, to be cut down in crowds. Conradin himself was captured at Rome by treachery, and beheaded in the market-place of Naples. He met his death with heroic firm-

ness, and the act of Charles was viewed with universal horror and reprobation. Charles's successor erected a chapel over the grave, and gave it in charge to the Carmelite friars. Five hundred years later, this was transformed into the stately church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, behind whose altar repose the remains of the last scion of the imperial house of Swabia, with those of his true comrade, Frederick of Austria, who was executed and buried at the same time and place. A statue was afterwards reared in the nave by King Maximilian II. of Bavaria, to the memory of the victims of Charles of Anjou.

Conradin is almost to be deemed happy in escaping by an early



FIG. 98. — French knight, thirteenth century. Seal of John of Corbeil. Paris Archives. (From Lacroix.)

death the woes inflicted by their implacable enemy on the remaining members of his race. King Enzo died, after twenty-three years' imprisonment, in a dungeon in Bologna. His half-sister, Margaret, threatened in her life by her dissolute husband, Albert of Thuringia, took refuge in a convent, and there ended her days: her sister, Catharine, died a nun in a French cloister.

The terrible doom invoked by Innocent IV. on the posterity and very name of 'this Babylonian' was literally accomplished. But at what a price! One portion of Italy was given over to desolating party-strifes threatening its culture and civilization, the other to a tyranny bloody beyond example, and to shameless outrages and plunderings by foreign adventurers (Fig. 99). With loathing the

Italians turned away from the church which had brought this fate upon them, and which already began to suspect she had, in so doing, invoked an unavoidable catastrophe on her own head. Germany fell into a distressing state of disorder and dismemberment, in which all law and order disappeared, so that the land that had for centuries

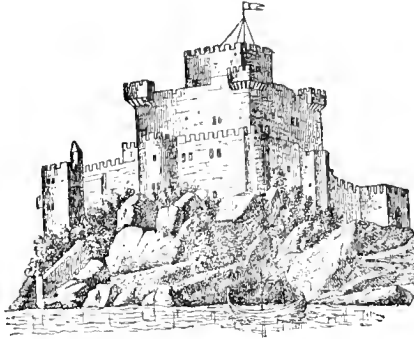


FIG. 99. — The Norman castle La Falconara in Sicily. Thirteenth century.  
(From Jahns.)

been the centre of development for the whole West was doomed to helpless impotency. The whole political system of Europe underwent a far-reaching change, in which the collapse of universal monarchy in imperialism was followed by that of the church universal in the papacy.

## CHAPTER XII.

### FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN THE HOHENSTAUFEN PERIOD.

(A.D. 1154-1272.)

WHILE Germany saw, in the course of the struggles of the Hohenstaufens to revive the world-empire, its political unity annihilated, the territorial rule of the princes gain ground, and its economic prosperity undermined by more sharply defined social antipathies, the first firmly compacted and thoroughly unified national states began to take form in France and England. With their increasing consciousness of power, a predominancy such as that hitherto asserted by the German kings was no longer compatible. Their rise to generally recognized importance introduced a transformation of the European political systems.

But the ways were different in which the two states raised a new political and social structure on a national foundation. In France this was effected by the increasing concentration of all power in the monarchy, and the entire subordination of the official class. This bureaucracy repressed the feudal powers more and more, and relieved the state from their selfishly pernicious influence, thus attracting all the elements hitherto oppressed by them, especially the urban middle class, and a little later the peasantry, to the closest alliance with the crown. In England a truly national state had its origin in a contest of the higher nobles and clergy against the abuse of the feudal constitution through royal despotism, which they were resolved to restrict within definite limits, so as to restrain it from further encroachments. But in order to confine the king within these, it was soon seen that the co-operation of the lesser nobility, the knights, and citizens, was essential. Thus the fusion of the hitherto divided estates of the realm into one many-membered organism was effected, not, as in France, through the monarchy, but in opposition to it. It was at a later period of England's history that the blending was fully accomplished under royal guidance. This diversity in the internal development of the two



states tended, in no small degree, to embitter the spirit in which they fought out their infinitely complex territorial quarrels from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century, in which each sought to vindicate for itself the leading position in Western Europe.

By the dissolution of his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine (p. 89), Louis VII. of France had surrendered the reversion of her rich inheritance, the union of which with the crown-lands would nearly have rounded out the French kingdom and assured to the Capets undisputed predominance over their vassal, the Duke of Normandy, now doubly formidable as king of England. Matilda's marriage with Henry of Anjou, who, in his conflict with Stephen, had vindicated the claim of the Plantagenets to the English throne, gave England a dangerous preponderance, splitting up the land and people of France in an altogether unnatural way, and giving rise not only to endless struggles between the dynasties, but to deadly hatred between their peoples, which determined, in its consequences, the development of both till the end of the Middle Ages. For England, these conflicts gave rise to a series of grave domestic crises, involving in their development a momentous revolution in the national and social constitution, disastrous quarrels within the royal house, and great contests with the church. France, on the other hand, had in her favor a Capetian dynastic policy matured for ages, which made her not only independent of changes on the throne, but, identifying the crown as it did with the people in all questions of moment, enabled it to find in them a source of strength in all times of stress or danger. This consonance between the dynastic and national policy found full expression and confirmation in Philip II. Augustus, the first French king who was not crowned during his father's lifetime, and yet ascended the throne without impediment. Thus France was developed into a hereditary monarchy precisely at the time when in Germany an effort in the same direction by Henry VI. had to be given up as impracticable, and when in England the crown was reduced to a fief of the church, and its authority essentially retrenched through a great revolt of the estates.

In England the anarchy under King Stephen (p. 99) had wrought a change in the groundwork on which the throne rested. Hitherto this had been the Norman feudal nobility, standing, on the one hand, in direct antagonism to the subjugated and disarmed Anglo-Saxons, while, on the other, it was itself rigorously subordi-

nated, through the feudal system, to the crown. Now, however, the conflict between Stephen of Blois and Henry Plantagenet had brought a change in both these respects. First, the nobles, torn by factions, had no longer that unity without which it was impossible for them to maintain their position against the Anglo-Saxon masses; and next, Stephen, in canvassing for adherents to his cause, had surrendered much of the crown's absolutism. Therefore Henry II. (1154-1189), on his accession, looked for support to the Anglo-Saxons also, to whom he restored the right of bearing arms, and whom he held in readiness for the defence of the kingdom, or rather of the monarchy, by reviving the ancient Anglo-Saxon militia. This was the first step towards composing the strife of races which had for a century made every foreign trouble into a domestic menace. Now, for the first time, the gradual fusion of the two races was made possible, and the way paved for an English nationality in which each element borrowed somewhat from the other, and so entered upon a new and higher union. The good effects of this were soon visible. Adversaries, hitherto irreducible, now submitted to the united strength of the nobility and people. Ireland was subdued between 1170 and 1175, and an end made of its native Culdee church; and Scotland had to acknowledge English supremacy.

One of the worst effects of the civil war was experienced by Henry II. in the degeneracy of the clergy, of whom an unusually large number made themselves guilty of grave secular offences, while the state was unable to apply a remedy. By the unexpected refusal of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, from 1093 to 1109, to accept investiture from William II., a brief but hot quarrel with the Curia was engendered, which found its provisional solution by Henry I. renouncing the right of investiture, and the prelates, on their part, pledging him not only their fealty and military service, as formerly, but also their submission, like other vassals, to royal jurisdiction in secular matters. But here, also, the weak Stephen had surrendered the royal prerogatives of the crown to the growing pretensions of the hierarchy. The clergy were, even in worldly things, to be subject only to the jurisdiction of the church; and from this time clerics, guilty of even heinous offences, evaded all punishment through an appeal to Rome. This must have been the more objectionable in Henry II.'s eyes, inasmuch as he had effected a great reform in the administration of justice by the introduction of itinerant

justices for the separate counties, and the reference of all weightier cases to the king's court as the supreme court. The exceptional position of the clergy became, in the torn and disorderly condition of the land, quite intolerable, but found an energetic defender in Thomas à Becket, formerly Henry's chancellor, but now raised to the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury (Fig. 100). For this reason the king, at a council of the lords temporal and spiritual held at Clarendon in the beginning of 1164, got certain "Constitutions" adopted, which, restoring the usage of Anglo-Saxon times, abrogated the recent hierarchical innovations, and, in particular, subordinated clergymen accused of grave offences to the ordinary tribunals of the land. To this, even Becket himself was, after a time, brought to give his assent. But the sovereign no longer had any confidence in him, and sought a pretext for getting rid of him. During a meeting of the estates at Northampton an open rupture occurred; and the king had the archbishop convicted of breach of fealty, and sentenced to a heavy fine. The latter gave no heed to the sentence, but, renouncing the Constitutions of Clarendon, previously accepted by him, appealed to the pope. The consequence was a bitter

ecclesiastical conflict, in which the despotic king had not only the lay nobles, but the majority of the clergy, on his side. The archbishop, dreading the worst, fled to France, where Pope Alexander III. was also a fugitive at that time. From the pontiff Becket did not receive the energetic support he hoped, but was involved in long negotiations with the pope, in the course of which the church admonished him to make his peace with his sovereign; for the pope could not dispense with the good-will of England in his struggle

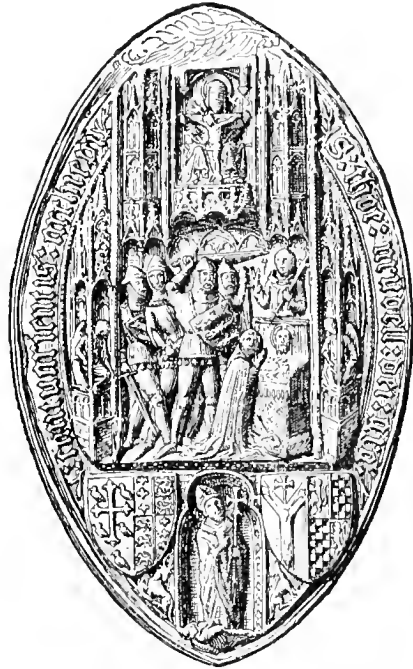


FIG. 100. — Seal of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the field is represented the murder of St. Thomas à Becket. Size of original. (Berlin.)

with Frederick, and was thus forced to restrain Becket from making too free use of his spiritual weapons, especially of the ban. Not till 1170 did Alexander III. succeed in bringing about an ostensible accommodation, which, though virtually conceding the king's demands, by no means mitigated the rancor on either side. Becket had to return to Canterbury without having received the kiss of peace at a meeting he had with the king at Tours. New disputes immediately arose, which Henry's vassals, who had grown rich at the expense of the archiepiscopal foundation, fostered out of anxiety for their acquisitions. In a moment of irritation, the sovereign gave vent to the cry, that among all his vassals there was not one to revenge him on this priest. Whether Henry actually meant to instigate the assassination of Becket, but in a form so ambiguous as not directly to commit himself as an accomplice, who can say? Be that as it may, four barons, under the leadership of the ferocious Reginald Fitzurse, who was an enemy of the archbishop and had been excommunicated by him, burst into the prelate's palace, on December 29, 1170, and began a quarrel with him in regard to the remission of penalties imposed by him. On his refusing their demand, they laid hold of their arms, and pressed it upon the priest, who, prepared for martyrdom, forbade his attendants even the appearance of resistance, and withdrew into the cathedral. Thither his assassins followed him, and barbarously hewed him to death.

A cry of horror rung through all England and the whole Christian world. No one doubted that the king was the virtual murderer. No one, therefore, blamed Alexander, when he, acting on this conviction, excommunicated Henry Plantagenet, declared him no longer sovereign, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Nothing more acceptable could have occurred to the hostile nobility of the English continental provinces, to the hierarchical party of the English clergy, and to the king of France, who coveted an extension of territory. Gladly would all these have co-operated in giving effect to the papal sentence. Henry recognized the danger he had invoked on himself and his dynasty by his rashly violent words, and made haste, not only to assert his innocence, but to offer every expiation as well as every guaranty for the future. Alexander III., still immersed in the struggle with the Emperor Frederick and the imperial anti-pope, was well pleased to get the unreliable king of England so completely into his power, and to be able to check any insubordination on his part by reference to the frightful suspicion resting

on him. The Constitutions of Clarendon were recalled, only, however, to be soon again virtually in full force. In the matter of appeals to Rome some concessions had to be made to the clergy; and the king had to equip and maintain 200 knights for service in the Holy Land, and vow to fight there in person for two years, — a vow which he never fulfilled; nor did the church, which was satisfied with having him in its power, insist on its accomplishment, especially as the war of conquest which he made in the following years in Ireland was represented as made in the service of the church and for the extension of its sway. The renewed war with France, and the miserable revolts and broils in his own house, were the cause of much trouble and grief to him. His queen, Eleanor, jealous on account of his many amorous escapades, of which that with Rosamond Clifford — ‘Fair Rosamond’ — was the most famous, instigated his eldest son to rise against him, and precipitated the house of Plantagenet into a succession of direful family feuds. In 1173 the young Henry raised the standard of revolt on the Continent, and the nobles of Southern France streamed in crowds to him; the king’s younger sons, Richard and Geoffrey, following the evil example, and Eleanor being restrained from joining them only by being kept in close confinement. A threatening ferment, moreover, took possession of the English nobility, while, in the north, the Scots rose in arms. To propitiate Heaven, under whose wrath his house and kingdom seemed to be sinking, Henry, in 1174, made a pilgrimage to the grave of the martyr at Canterbury, there to be again absolved, after renewed penance, from all complicity in his bloody death. Thereupon his fortune changed. The Scots were overthrown, and their king, William the Lion, captured and compelled to do homage; and Henry’s sons, after a year of struggle, had also to make their peace with him.

Brilliant indeed was Henry’s position at this time among the princes of the West (Fig. 101). His eldest daughter, Matilda, had been, since 1168, wife of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony; another, Eleanor, had been wedded by Alfonso IX., king of Castile; and the third, Joanna, was married to the youthful King William II. of Sicily. But his sons were again to be a source of grief and care to him, by the outbreak of embittered strife among them in 1183. On the father taking the part of the hard-pressed Richard, Henry and Geoffrey flew to arms, and, in their unholy infatuation, imperilled once more all the victories of their father’s bold and aspiring



FIG. 101. — King Henry II. of England (died 1189) and his wife Eleanor of Guienne (died 1204). Monuments in the burial-place of the English kings in the monastery of Fontevrault, in Maine-et-Loire, France (founded 1094). (From Stothard.)

policy. Henry the younger died during this quarrel; and his adherents laid down their arms, and were generously left unpunished. But Geoffrey went so far, in his rancor, as to flee his father's territories, and sue Philip II. of France for help in invading them. In 1188 he, too, died, just before the renewed outbreak of the struggle. Untaught by such unfortunate experiences, Henry labored for the exclusion of Richard, now the nearest heir, from the succession, in order to secure the crown for his favorite son, John. Richard, thus incited, sought support in an alliance with Philip. The two took the field against Henry, and a desolating war ensued. Finally John, too, deserted the old king, whose strength was thereby broken down entirely. Richard was recognized as the successor, and Philip once more acknowledged feudal lord of the continental provinces of England. Thus the greatest political victory of the reign was annihilated. With a curse on his sons on his lips, the first of the Plantagenets expired at Chinon, July 6, 1189. But the consequences of his domestic reforms and innovations survived him. Besides the reconciliation of the Normans and Anglo-Saxons, and the conversion of the latter into an available local militia, the rigorous centralization of the judiciary operated to secure the enforcement of law; while the commutation of the feudal military service into a money-payment not only brought a liberal supply of funds into the exchequer, but led to the reorganization and expansion of the whole financial system of the kingdom.

The curse which the dying Henry pronounced on his sons found terrible fulfilment. Notwithstanding his impassioned temperament, that monarch was a far-seeing and discreet statesman. His son Richard I. (1189-1199), who followed him, was of an altogether different type. Combining the characters of a knight-errant and of a wandering minstrel, he possessed neither the qualities of a prudent commander in the field, nor of a judicious administrator of a state. Yet such was the man who was now to hold rule in England, and over her provinces on the mainland, which had once more fallen under French suzerainty. Times of disaster set in for both the land and the people. To procure the means for the Crusade to which his father had pledged himself, and the carrying out of which was so much in harmony with the new sovereign's adventurous disposition, necessitated the employment of the severest fiscal measures, which the officials who had superseded his father's experienced officers made intolerable by their despotic caprices. The universal discon-



FIG. 102. — Tombstone of Richard I., *Cœur de Lion*, at Fontevraud. (From Stothard.)

tent suggested to the unprincipled John, his mother's favorite son, the seizure of the throne in his brother's absence. By lightening their feudal services he won over the nobles to his cause, so that Richard's vicegerent, the chancellor and chief-justice, William of Ely, had to flee to France. When his brother, on his way home from Palestine, was seized in Austria, and delivered over to seemingly hopeless bondage under the emperor Henry VI., John seemed to have the game completely in his own hand, and now entered into alliance with Philip Augustus. But this step went too far. The sympathies of the people, and especially of the masses, had been awakened for Richard (Fig. 102) through their boundless admiration for his chivalrous virtues. John fled to his French ally, who had taken up arms, and begun the conquest of England's provinces overseas. In vain did the two plead with the emperor, Henry VI., to detain his victim still longer in captivity. Richard was liberated, and at once marched against John. Deserted by his accomplices, the latter had to make his submission, but, on the intercession of his mother, was forgiven by the too-indulgent king. Richard now turned against Philip; but here, too, a peace was patched up through the mediation of the pope, to which Richard consented the more readily because he had reverted to his old enmity against the Hohenstaufens, and desired further to support his favorite nephew, Otto, against Philip of Swabia. But before he could carry out his purpose he died, April 6, 1199, in



the abbey of Fontevrault, of an arrow-wound received at the siege of the castle of Chalus.

The succession was not undisputed. On setting out on the Crusade, Richard had designated Arthur of Brittany, the only son of his deceased brother Geoffrey, as his successor, but on his death-bed declared for his brother John. The continental domains, with the exception of Normandy, pronounced for the former, who, moreover, had the promise of the support of France. But when Philip saw that John was not to be intimidated, he deserted the cause of the youthful Arthur, and counselled him to do his uncle homage for his duchy of Brittany. Scarcely was John firmly seated on the throne when he showed all the bad qualities with which men credited him, — avarice and self-seeking, unbridled dissoluteness, dissimulation and falsehood that betrayed friend and foe alike, despotism and tyranny that recoiled before no deed of violence, and irresolution and pusillanimity on encountering resolute resistance. When, on the dissolution of his marriage with the daughter of the powerful Earl of Gloucester, he wedded Isabella of Angoulême, the betrothed of Hugh, Count of La Marche, the latter, with a numerous following, declared for the claims of Arthur of Brittany. Aided by France, Arthur again had recourse to arms, but was surprised by John in 1202 while besieging the castle of Mirabel, where his grandmother Eleanor lay sick. He was first confined in chains in the castle of Falaise, and then shut up in a dungeon in Rouen, whence he never emerged, doubtless killed by his uncle's orders. The people believed that John had drowned him with his own hand in the Seine. However he may have died, his death brought universal detestation on John, and gave a terrible weapon into the hands of his enemies. Philip II. proceeded with resolution against Arthur's murderer, and declared his fiefs forfeited. In 1204 he took possession of Normandy, and thereafter of the rich lands between the Loire and Garonne, which John gave up almost without a blow, but not without loud lamentations against the treachery of his nobles.

The effects soon showed themselves in England also. The kingdom of the Conqueror still bore its pronounced military character: and its barons, accustomed to see warlike sovereigns at its head, could ill brook the sway of an unknightly libertine, who so weakly surrendered his own feudal rights and those of the widows and orphans to whom he was guardian. Since the reign of the second Henry, there had grown up a greater community of feeling between

the Norman barons and the Anglo-Saxon citizens and the freemen in the counties. These classes sympathized with the knighthood in its complaints against the king and his debauched companions, and were ready to make common cause with it in defending themselves against them. In the eyes of many, moreover, John was a usurper, possessed of the throne through murder, so that his position was already seriously imperilled when he became embroiled with the church, which naturally found a helper in Philip of France.

Notwithstanding the compact made by Henry II., under the influence of Becket's assassination, apparently satisfying all the desires of the papacy, the English church had very soon fallen back into its old state of dependence on the monarchy. Innocent III., therefore, willingly availed himself of the opportunity of having the claims of the church recognized here, also, at the cost of the state. In 1205 the metropolitan chair of Canterbury fell vacant; and the right of nominating the new occupant became a matter of controversy between the suffragan bishops of the see and the monks of the monastery of Christ Church, attached to the cathedral. The monks, without receiving, as usage required, license to elect a successor from the king, raised their sub-prior, Reginald, to the chair. John, on the other hand, forced the cathedral chapter into the choice of John, Bishop of Norwich, whom he at once invested with the temporalities. Against this high-handed procedure the bishops complained to Rome. Innocent III. ordered an investigation; and Bishop John was rejected, while the claim of the suffragan bishops to elect was thrown out. The Curia recognized only the right of the monks, at the same time, however, quashing the election of Reginald as irregular. Thereupon the pope himself caused his former learned and hierarchical fellow-student, Stephen Langton, to be elected by the envoys of the monastery then in Rome, and at once consecrated him as archbishop of Canterbury, and invested him with the pallium. This challenge to the king, John answered by a merciless persecution of the monks of Christ Church. The warnings which the pope addressed him through the Bishop of Lincoln and others only served the more to irritate him. To the threat of the ban and interdict, he replied by the counter-threat of hounding the clergy forth from the land, confiscating the church-lands, and permitting no papal legate to enter the kingdom again. On March 24, 1208, the pope pronounced the interdict on England. Without regard to the popular anguish of spirit, John per-

sisted in his defiance, and repressed every trace of opposition with the utmost rigor. He himself was next excommunicated; but even this did not seem to distress him. Ruling at home with a rod of iron, he made an impression on the nobles by his military prowess abroad. He reduced the revolted Irish, conquered the Isle of Man, and chastised the predatory Welsh. At this time, too, the breach between the pope and the emperor, Otto IV., stood him in good stead. Innocent himself recognized that this threatened a dangerous change in the situation. John, therefore, must be made harmless before he had time to join his nephew against the pope. So Innocent once more armed Philip of France, and commissioned him with the execution of the sentence deposing John from the throne, and absolving his subjects from allegiance to him. In such a contest John was doomed to succumb. The Welsh and Scots were ready to make common cause with any French force landing in the island; and even in England itself Philip would have been welcomed as a liberator. John felt the ground giving way under his feet; and over and above this, bold and defiant as he tried to seem, the ban was gnawing at his conscience. Innocent well knew how to take advantage of the tyrant's spiritual condition. Therefore, just as Philip was on the eve of crossing the channel, he caused it to be made known to him, through the sub-deacon, Pandulf, that grace and pardon awaited his submission. John caught eagerly at the offer, and, on May 13, 1213, solemnly pledged himself, at Dover, to submission to the pope's sentence. All proceedings against Stephen Langton and his adherents were recalled; and the illegally chosen archbishop maintained his place at the head of the English church, which also gladly submitted to the sway of Rome. But a yet greater victory awaited Innocent, which was to demonstrate visibly to an amazed world the subordination of all earthly power to the church. On May 15, John laid down the kingly crown, to receive it back from Pandulf, in the name of the pope, as a fief of St. Peter, in recognition of which he and his successors should pay to Rome yearly, in addition to the customary Peter's-pence, the sum of a thousand pounds sterling by way of feudal rent.

With rage Philip saw escape him the prey that he had thought to be almost in his hands. In spite of the pope's warning he assailed Flanders, to which country John lent efficient aid, so that an Anglo-French war at once broke out, intimately bound up with the conflict

for the German throne. In other matters, however, John fulfilled his obligations faithfully, and was, accordingly, absolved from the ban on July 20. He pledged himself, further, to govern better for the future, swore to observe the laws of Edward the Confessor, and promised to restore the estates he had confiscated, and to grant indemnity.

But after the experiences England had had under this monarch, all this satisfied no one. The bitterness caused by his tyranny was too general, and the distrust of his good faith too deep, for the people not to require more effective guaranties, and this the more, because John now had the church on his side, inasmuch as every expansion of his power was so much gain to England's papal overlord. The continuance of the French war meant the continuance of the intolerable imposts with which he oppressed his people in virtue of his prerogative in time of war. The feudal nobility, accordingly, upon being called on to cross the channel for the recovery of the lost lands of the Plantagenets, refused to follow him; and Stephen Langton himself referred him to the provisions of the feudal laws, which were adverse to his intended course. Under the leadership of the archbishop, the lords spiritual and temporal, at a council in London, bound themselves to common action in defence of the rights of the baronage and the church, as sworn to by Henry II. on his accession. Meanwhile the king had crossed to the Continent, and, after an unsuccessful attack on Poitou, betaken himself to Flanders to support the emperor, Otto IV., against a Franco-Flemish coalition. There, on July 27, 1214, he, with his nephew, suffered a decisive defeat at Bouvines. To secure peace with France he had to surrender the French domains of his house, with the exception of a few strongholds, to Philip, who now ruled all France as far south as the Garonne.

King John, on his return to England, found it everywhere in a growing ferment; and this he aggravated by the manner in which he called to account the barons who had neglected his summons, and by demanding the payment of scutage from them for the breach of their feudal duty. The leaders of the malcontents met in Bury St. Edmunds, and took counsel how they could bring about a reform in state and church. They even addressed a complaint to the pope as the king's feudal superior. John attempted subterfuges; but at Christmas, 1214, the heads of the nobles appeared before him in London, and demanded an end of the war with France, dismissal

of his foreign mercenaries, and a new ratification of the laws of King Edward. The king declared he could give no answer till Easter, and employed the interval in preparing for the struggle, prevailing on the pope to command the dissolution of the barons' confederacy and the payment of their scutage. In Easter-week the barons assembled at Stamford, 2000 in number, with a great following of horsemen and foot-soldiers. Even the church, which John had thought to win by conceding it the right of free election, with Stephen of Canterbury at its head, renounced its allegiance, in spite of the admonitions of the pope. As its leader, the 'army of God



FIG. 103. — Seal of Robert Fitzwalter. Size of original. (Berlin.)

and the Holy Church' chose Robert Fitzwalter (Fig. 103). As the king hesitated, the barons, re-enforced by new accessions, prepared to attack his castles. On May 5 the canons of Durham Cathedral absolved them from their oath of fealty to him. London, wild with excitement, declared for them. John now thought it time to give way. On June 15 a congress was opened on the meadow of Runnymede, between Staines and Windsor, at which the Earl of Pembroke acted as mediator, on the basis of a memorial embodying the barons' grievances, drawn up in forty-nine articles by Stephen Langton. John acknowledged the complaints as well-founded, consented to the measures proposed for their redress, and to the embodi-

ment of these in a document, — the Magna Charta, — the great Charter of the liberties of the estates of England.

This memorable instrument (PLATE VIII.<sup>1</sup>) neither comprised

<sup>1</sup> EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

Faësimile of a part of the articles originally proposed and actually adopted, as the basis of the Magna Charta. 1215 A.D.

(The original, on parchment, about 21 2-5 inches long, is in the British Museum.)

[Abbreviations are here printed in italics.]

*Ista sunt Capitula que Barones petunt et dominus Rex concedit*

- ¶ Post decessum antecessorum heredes plene etatis habebunt hereditatem suam per antiquum relevationem exprimendum in carta.
- ¶ Heredes qui infra etatem sunt *et fuerint in custodia* cum ad etatem peruenierint habebunt hereditatem suam sine relevatione *et fine*.
- ¶ Custos terre heredis capiet rationabiles exitus et consuetudines et servitia sine destructione et natio hominum *et rerum suarum et si custos terre fecerit destructionem et vastum amittat custodiam et eustos sustentabit domos parcos vinaria stagna molendina et cetera ad terram illam pertinentia de exitibus terre eiusdem et ut heredes ita maritentur ne disparagentur et per consilium propinquorum de consanguinitate sua.*
- ¶ Ne vidua det aliquid pro dote sua vel maritagio post decessum mariti sui *sed maneat in domo suo per xl dies post mortem ipsius et infra terminum illum assignetur ei dos et maritagium statim habeat et hereditatem suam.*
- ¶ Rex vel Ballivus non saisiet terram aliquam pro debito dum catalla debitoris sufficiunt nec plegii debitoris distringantur dum capitalis debitor sufficit ad solutionem si vero capitalis debitor defecerit in solutione si plegii voluerint habeant terras debitoris donec debitum illud persolvatur plene nisi capitalis debitor monstrare poterit se esse inde quietum erga plegios.
- ¶ Rex non concedet alicui Baroni quod capiat auxilium de liberis hominibus suis nisi ad corpus suum redimendum et ad faciendum primogenitum filium suum militem et ad primogenitam filiam suam semel una ritandam et hoc faciet per rationabile auxilium.
- ¶ Ne aliquis maius servitium faciat de feodo militis quam inde debetur.
- ¶ Ut communia placita non sequantur curiam domini Regis sed assignentur in aliquo certo loco et ut recognitiones capiantur in eisdem Comitatibus in hunc modum ut Rex mittat duos Iusticiarios per iiij. vices in anno qui cum iiij. militibus eiusdem Comitatus electis per Comitatum capiant assisas de nona dissaisina morte antecessoris et ultima presentatione nec aliquis ob hoc sit summonitus T nisi iuratores et due partes.
- ¶ Ut liber homo amerceatur pro parvo delicto secundum modum delicti et pro magno delicto secundum magnitudinem delicti salvo confinamento suo villanus etiam eodem modo amerceatur salvo waynagio suo et mercator eodem modo salvo marcandisa per sacramentum proborum hominum de visneto.
- ¶ Ut clericus amerceatur de laico feodo suo secundum modum aliorum predictorum et non secundum beneficium ecclesiasticum.
- ¶ Ne aliqua nulla amerceatur pro pontibus faciendis ad riparias nisi ubi de iure antiquitus esse solebant.
- ¶ Ut mensura vini bladi et latitudines pannorum et rerum aliarum emendetur et ita de ponderibus.
- ¶ Ut assise de nona dissaisina et de morte antecessoris abbrevientur et similiter de aliis assisis.







Matrem sua in celano et fine.

medo e comofia p. xl. dias post mortem pueri. e nuppi tñmum illum affligit a. d. 2. p.

cogniciones de parte de este Comendador y su sucesor en la forma que se contiene en el presente  
de nuevo desistamos. muestre ántes delos y alabados p[ro]cedimientos q[uod] así es de dar fe sin error

*Philanthus*

[illegible]

tam facere qd non inspirabimus l' f' assensu leg' d' de lege condone. ul' bono fuor de q; con-

faciens, non volentes ipse

Lundum ipse & solus ille fuit  
in: in Snowy. 53 runc redder das fode.

in May 1. Cycle Beg. 7.1. Day 10000 hys. Summum alioy rmo. Rnday: rmo. 4.10000 2.



a constitution, nor announced any general principles of public law, but limited itself to redressing abuses that had gained a footing in the course of time, and especially through John's despotism, and to restoring the ancient Anglo-Saxon law to force. The legitimate royal prerogatives were in no way curtailed, but, by the abrogation of many illegal extensions, were reduced to their ancient proportions. What was especially important, the granting of the demands made by the king in certain cases, in the interest of the public weal, for extraordinary services or appropriations, was made contingent on the assent of the greater vassals. Feudalism was thus placed on a legal basis, since the obligations imposed on the monarch were applicable

- ¶ *Vt nullus vicecomes intromittat se de placitis ad coronam pertinentibus sine coronatoribus • et ut Comitatus et Hundrede sint ad antiquas firmas absque nullo incremento exceptis dominicis maneriis Regis*
- ¶ *Si aliquis tenens de Rege moriatur: licebit vicecomiti vel alii Ballivo Regis seisire et inbreuiare catallum ipsius per usum legalium hominum • Ita tamen quod nichil inde amoneatur donec plenius | sciatur si debeat aliquod liquidum debitum domino Regi • et tunc debitum Regi persolvatur • Residuum nero relinquatur executoribus ad faciendum testamentum defuncti • et si nichil Regi debetur: omnia | catalla cedant defuncto.*
- ¶ *Si aliquis liber homo intestatus decesserit • bona sua per manum proximiorum parentum suorum et amicorum et per usum Ecclesie distribuantur.*
- ¶ *Ne vidue distringantur ad se maritandum dum voluerint sine marito uiuere • Ita tamen quod securitatem facient quod non maritabunt se sine assensu Regis si de Rege teneant • vel dominorum suorum de quibus tenent.*
- ¶ *Ne Constabularius vel alius Balliuus capiat blada vel alia catalla nisi statim denarios inde reddat • nisi respectum habere possit de voluntate venditoris.*
- ¶ *Ne Constabularius possit distringere aliquem militem ad dandum denarios pro custodia castri si noluerit facere custodiam illam in propria persona vel per alium probum hominem si ipse eam facere non possit per rationabilem causam | et si Rex eum duxerit in exercitum sit quietus de custodia secundum quantitatem temporis*
- ¶ *Ne vicecomes vel Balliuus Regis vel aliquis alius capiat equos vel caretas alicuius liberi hominis pro cariagio faciendo nisi ex voluntate ipsius.*
- ¶ *Ne Rex vel Balliuus suus capiat alienum boveum ad castra vel ad alia agenda sua nisi per voluntatem ipsius cuius boveus ille fuerit*
- ¶ *Ne Rex teneat terram eorum qui fuerint convicti de feloniam nisi per unum annum et unum diem • sed tunc reddatur domino feodi.*
- ¶ *Vt omnes kidelli de cetero penitus deponantur de Tamisia • et Medeweȝe • et per totam Angliam.*
- ¶ *Ne breue quod uocatur precipe de cetero fiat alicui de alieno tenemento unde liber homo amittat curiam suam*
- ¶ *Si quis fuerit disseisitus vel prolongatus per Regem sine iudicio de terris libertatibus • et iure suo • statim ei restituatur • Et si contentio super hoc orta fuerit • tunc inde disponatur per iudicium • XXV • Baronum • Et ut | illi qui fuerint disseisiti per patrem vel fratrem Regis • rectum habeant sine dilacione per iudicium parium suorum in Curia Regis • Et si Rex debeat habere terminum aliorum cruce signatorum: tunc Archiepiscopus et Episcopi | faciant inde iudicium ad certum diem appellatione remota.*

(From Publ. of the Pal. Soc. London.)

also to the barons in their relations to their feudatories. But non-feudal matters, also, were regulated. The administration of justice was reorganized in accordance with the admirable institutions of Henry II. The system of itinerant justices was reintroduced. The court of common pleas, instead of following the king's person, was fixed permanently at Westminster. The ancient trial by jury was revived, so that every freeman might be tried by his peers. But on

#### TRANSLATION.

These are the Heads which the Barons seek, and our lord King grants.

1. After the decease of ancestors, heirs of full age shall have their inheritance, according to the ancient relief, expressed in the grant.

2. Heirs who are below age, and are in wardship, when they come of age shall have their inheritance without relief and fine.

3. The guardian of the ward's lands shall take reasonable exits, customs, and services, without destruction and waste of men and their lands, and if the guardian of the land make destruction and waste, he shall lose his lordship, and the guardian shall keep up houses, parks, stews, ponds, mills, and the rest, pertaining to that land, from the exits of the land; and that heirs shall be married without disparagement and by the advice of their kinsmen by blood.

4. A widow shall not give anything for her dower, or marriage, after her husband's death, but shall remain in his house for forty days after his death, and in that term her dower shall be assigned her; and she shall have her marriage and inheritance at once.

5. King or bailiff shall not seize any land for a debt while the chattels of the debtor suffice; nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained while the debtor in chief suffices for payment; but if the debtor in chief fails to pay, the sureties, if they will, shall have the land of the debtor till his debt be paid in full, unless the debtor in chief can prove that he is thence quit towards his sureties.

6. The king shall grant to no baron to take aid from his free men, except to ransom his own person, to make his eldest son a knight, and marry his eldest daughter once, and he shall do this by reasonable aid.

7. No one shall make greater service from a knight's fee than is due from it.

8. Common pleas shall not follow the court of our lord king, but be fixed in some certain place, and recognisances be taken in the same counties, under the following form; the king shall send two justiciaries four times in the year, who, with four knights of the same county, elected by the county, shall take assizes of novel disseisin, *mort d'ancestre*, and last presentment; nor shall any one be summoned for this, except the jurors and the two parties.

9. A free man shall be amerced for a small offence according to the manner of the offence, and for a great offence according to the magnitude of the offence, his holding being saved; a villein shall be amerced in the same way, saving his agricultural tools; and a merchant in the same way, saving his merchandise, by the oath of good men of the vicinage.

10. A clerk shall be amerced of his lay fee, according to the manner of other aforesaid cases, and not according to his ecclesiastical benefice.

11. That no town be amerced for making bridges over rivers, unless they are wont of old to do so by right.

12. That measures of wine, corn, and breadths of cloth, and other matters, be amended; and so of weights.

13. That assizes of novel disseisin and *mort d'ancestre* be shortened; and so with other assizes.

the justifiable assumption that such written enactments were of little avail as against a king of the character of John and his feudal lord, the sixty-first article of Magna Charta instituted a committee, consisting of twenty-five barons and the mayor of London, as conservators of the public liberties, with the power of seizing John's castles and confiscating his domains, in the event of his obstinately infringing the provisions of the charter. Thus did the barons acquire the legal right of authoritatively restraining any unwarrantable action on the part of the government. On the other hand, the charter placed resources at the disposal of the government which were be-

14. That no sheriff meddle with pleas which pertain to the crown, without the coroners, and that the county and hundred be at the old farms without increase, excepting the domain manors of the king.

15. If any tenant of the king dies, it shall be lawful for the sheriff or other bailiff of the king, to seize and enroll his chattels by the view of lawful men: but so that nothing be removed thence, until it be more fully known if he owes any clear debt to our lord king; and then let the king's debt be paid, and the residue left to the executors to do the will of the deceased; and if nothing is due to the king, let all the chattels go to the dead.

16. If any free man dies intestate, let his goods be distributed by the hands of his nearest relatives and friends, by view of the Church.

17. Let not widows be distrained to marry, while they wish to live without husband; but see that they give satisfaction that they will not marry without the king's assent, if they hold of the king, or of their lords of whom they hold.

18. The constable or other bailiff shall not take corn or other chattels, unless he immediately pay the money for them, unless he can have respect to the will of the vendor.

19. The constabulary cannot distrain any knight to giving money for the keep of a castle, if he will make that custody in his proper person, or by some man of good character; if he cannot do that for some reasonable cause, and if the king take him with his army, he shall be quit of the custody of that castle for a space of time.

20. The sheriff, or the bailiff of the king, or any one else, shall not take horses or carriages of any free man to make carriage, except with his good will.

21. The king or his bailiff shall not take another man's wood for his castle or other works, unless by leave of him whose wood it is.

22. The king shall not hold the land of those who are convict of felony, except for a year and a day, and then it shall be returned to the lord of the fee.

23. All the kidells [weirs] for the future shall be totally taken away from the Thames and the Medway and the whole of England.

24. The writ which is called *præcipe* shall not for the future issue to any one about any tenement, when a free man may lose his court.

25. If any man be disseised or delayed by the king, without judgment, from lands, liberties, and his right, it shall be forthwith restored him; and if a dispute arise over this, then it shall be settled by the judgment of twenty-five barons, and that they who were disseised by the father or brother of the king, shall have right without delay, by the judgment of their equals in the king's court; and if the king ought to have a term of others, who are signed with the cross, then the archbishop and bishops shall give judgment, at a fixed day, appeal being taken away. (Oxford Translation.)

yond the requirements of formal law; providing, however, that the consent of the peers, spiritual and temporal, must, on every such occasion, be asked and granted. Unimportant as this condition may appear, it really involved the germ of the English parliament, which is simply a development of the assemblies of prelates and crown vassals held in such emergencies. To these the bishops and greater vassals were to be called by writ, addressed to each forty days before the date of meeting, the other barons being summoned through the sheriffs of the counties.

King John was treated forbearingly enough by the victorious barons. He was not stripped of a single one of the rights which he had so scandalously abused, their abuse simply being made impossible to him. This moderation was ill-requited by the king. From the moment he was delivered from the most imminent menace by the dispersion of the nobles, John's one thought was how he might best shake off or burst the fetters imposed on him. He prevented the registration of the charter; for who, with this left undone, was there to attest its authenticity? But the barons were careful to provide for the security of a number of attested copies; while, to forestall his sheltering himself under the pretext of his incompetency to undertake such obligations without the consent of his overlord, they caused him to pledge himself solemnly not to seek absolution in Rome from his oath to observe the *Magna Charta*. Yet for such absolution John sued through the legate Pandulf; and his prayer was granted by the pope, who declared the Great Charter annulled, and threatened the barons with the ban if they resisted the king's will. With the help of his numerous foreign mercenaries, John brought the nobles into dire straits. Only foreign aid could rescue them and theirs from the last extremities. They sought this in France, and offered the English crown to Philip's son, Louis, the husband of John's niece, Blanche of Castile. Nothing could have been more welcome to the Capetian house. But before the French prince could reach England, it had fallen almost entirely into the king's power. While John in person subdued the north, his half-brother, William Longsword (son of Henry II. by Rosamond Clifford<sup>1</sup>), overran the southern counties. The barons were excommunicated, and Stephen Langton deposed from his chair. London had become the

<sup>1</sup> Some recent historical writers believe that William Longsword was not the son of Rosamond Clifford, but of another mistress of Henry II., of whom nothing further is known. — ED.

last asylum of national freedom, when the French appeared in the spring of 1216. A general desertion of the tyrant ensued immediately, who, however, did not give up his cause as lost, but manifested an energy and circumspection that compelled respect even from his adversaries. He was persuaded that this unnatural alliance between his subjects and their hereditary foes could not last, but would fall to pieces through national antipathies. Before this came about, however, he himself died, October 17, 1216.

The situation was now completely changed. With a ten-year-old boy — John's son, Henry III. (1216–1272) — on the throne, and in view of a long regency, the acknowledgment and ratification of the Magna Charta was easily attainable. Even the Curia offered to mediate, for a French conquest of England involved a shifting of power little to its liking. The barons themselves wished to be freed from an alliance already become burdensome to them. The regency was intrusted to the Earl of Pembroke and the papal legate, Guala, who were satisfied when the young king, on his coronation, in October, confirmed the Magna Charta, though in a largely modified form. Along with the sixty-first article, the recognition of the right of resistance by the estates fell; and the levying of scutage and extraordinary reliefs was again made independent of their consent. In the present state of the national feeling, however, these concessions to the crown were thought none too high a price for getting rid of the French. All parties now combined against Prince Louis, who, after a defeat at Lincoln and the shattering of an auxiliary fleet at the mouth of the Thames, recrossed the channel, satisfied with having secured an amnesty for the past and release from the ban of the church.

Ten years of peace succeeded to this era of constitutional conflict, during which the Magna Charta was respected, and the authority of the estates confirmed by the repeated summonings of councils to deliberate on state affairs. But Henry III., on becoming of age, not only did not ratify the charter, but, counselled by the stern Hubert de Burgh, conducted the government after the despotic manner of his father. The fall of de Burgh in 1232 brought no amelioration. His successor, Peter des Roches of Poitou, was hated from the first as a foreigner, and sought support in an offensive system of favoritism. The prodigality of the reckless king depleted the treasury, which had to be replenished by new exactions. A revolt of the barons under Richard of Pembroke, son of the regent, brought only

a short respite. The influx of foreign adventurers in the suite of Henry's young wife, Eleanor of Provence, the constantly growing demands of the Curia for money contributions, and the king's enrichment of his French favorites through high preferments, increased the general discontent. To secure extraordinary financial help, Henry, in 1236, had to reconfirm the *Magna Charta*. He, however, made no change in his course, the clergy especially having to complain of encroachments on the cathedral chapters' right of election. In 1240 they laid a formal complaint before a council in London. Everything pointed to a new conflict. Such concessions as his people extorted from the king in his times of pecuniary distress proved uniformly worthless; and the abuses, on whose redress the councils made their 'aids' conditional, were never abated. Meanwhile the personal qualities manifested by Henry—insincerity, dissimulation, and direct falsehood—lowered not only himself personally, but also the monarchy, in the eyes of the people. To avert an imminent general rising, Henry again re-ratified the charter, only to get himself almost forthwith absolved from his oath by the pope. His resolution to help his brother Richard of Cornwall to the German throne, and his son Edmund to that of Sicily, brought new financial complications in view, which could only be aggravated by a war with Wales and France: since the estates refused all extraordinary supplies, and demanded, as security for the definitive restoration of order, a voice in the appointment of the high officers of state.

This latter object the barons were justified in hoping to attain: since they had found a leader of no ordinary influence and capacity in Simon of Montfort, Earl of Leicester, husband of the king's sister Eleanor, and son of the Montfort (p. 252) that had led the crusade against the Albigenses. He made the cause, which had hitherto been that of the nobles and clergy exclusively, now that of the people as well, and so won to its support the popular strength of the nation. The expansion by him of the modest rights secured to the estates by the *Magna Charta* laid the first foundation of the English Constitution, the development of which began with the much called-for limitation of the monarchy. At a meeting at Oxford, in 1258, the barons demanded and compelled the appointment of a committee of twenty-four members,—twelve nominated by the king and twelve by themselves,—endowed with the power of nominating the fifteen members of the royal or privy council. Naturally the majority of



these were selected from the barons of the opposition. All this was pretty nearly equivalent to a suspension of royal power, for these twenty-four had the power of yearly appointing the highest officers of state. It was furthermore resolved that the estates should meet in parliament three times a year, and that the high officials should take part in its deliberations, and that two bishops, an earl, and a baron should constitute the permanent representation of the interests of the crown vassals in the privy council and parliament. Whosoever should countervene these Provisions of Oxford was declared an enemy of his country. The victory of the estates was complete; and England was, in outward form, transformed into an aristocratic republic. That this did not inure to the benefit of the prelates and barons alone, but of the whole community, was due to Leicester, who not only restrained his fellow-peers from abuse of their powers in relation to their inferiors, but understood how to secure a broad foundation for the new order of things in the great mass of the people. But provision had to be made against the reaction which Henry was organizing in secret, anxiously soliciting the co-operation of France and his papal overlord for the repeal of the unpalatable provisions of the so-called Mad Parliament of Oxford. In April, 1261, the pope annulled the concessions extorted from the king; and civil war broke out afresh, for no man could place reliance on the assurances of the untrustworthy Henry. While, therefore, he was seeking help across the channel, a general rising, under Leicester's leading, took place in England. The royal castles were occupied, Leicester himself seizing the Tower, while the citizens of London declared themselves for him. Henry, on his return, saw his kingdom practically lost, and had recourse to negotiations. He attempted to have the whole matter settled through the arbitration of Louis IX. of France, who, when appealed to by him, rejected the Oxford Provisions, and the pope condemned them afresh. England once more took to arms. The royalists, at first successful in the north, were, on May 24, defeated at Lewes in Sussex, the king, his brother Richard of Cornwall, his son Edward, and many nobles, falling into the hands of the conquerors. The Oxford Provisions remained permanently in force.

Nevertheless, the royalist party did not give up their cause as lost. They hoped for the accession of the freemen of the counties and the middle class of the cities, the classes that had specially suffered through the domestic troubles without having any share in



FIG. 104. — English knight, about 1300. Tombstone, perhaps of Richard Wellesbourne de Montfort, in the church at Hitchendon, Buckinghamshire. (From Stothard.)

the advantages they brought to the prelacy and baronage. In order, therefore, to give these an interest in the settlement arrived at in Oxford, and to induce them to unite in averting the danger of a monarchical reaction, Leicester invited representatives of both classes to take part in the deliberations of the estates in parliament assembled. It was not the first time that both he and the king had had recourse to the same expedient. In 1261, he, in conjunction with the sovereign, had issued invitations to three knights from each shire to be present at the sessions of the estates. Now, on January 26, 1265, he summoned, in the king's name, two knights from each shire, and two deputies from each of a certain number of cities, to attend, and give expression to the views of their respective classes, thus formally constituting the nucleus of the English House of Commons. But the conflict between Henry and the baronage was not allayed, for the new compacts in confirmation of the charter were of no avail to bind the king and his adherents. Gradually the prospects of the royalists became brighter

through the disintegration which began to show itself in the ranks of their adversaries. The barons (Fig. 104) were by no means satisfied with the popular tendencies shown by Leicester; their own rule, as established at Oxford, being threatened by the growing influence of the knights and citizens. Many, indeed, suspected that he had secret designs on the throne. Even the author of the English Lower House had to experience that one cannot be at once the hero of the commonalty and the head of an aristocratic party. That Leicester, in the consciousness of his merits and in the feeling of his indispensability, met the rising opposition in a too high-handed manner, aggravated the discontent. The activity of the royalists did the rest. At that moment, in the summer of 1265, Henry's chivalrous young son, Edward, escaped from confinement, placed himself at the head of the reassembled royalists, to whom many of the barons, out of spite to Leicester, gave their adhesion. A series of unfortunate engagements made the desertion general; and, on August 4, Leicester himself fell in battle against a superior force, at Evesham.

But he had not lived in vain. In the main, his work was acknowledged even by his adversaries, and became the groundwork for the peaceful re-ordering of the English state. At first, indeed, a terrible reaction followed on the victory of the monarchy; and the conquered saw themselves delivered over, without show of law or right, to the arbitrary caprices of Henry, whose partisans made haste, under the cover of policy, to gratify their personal malice. All order disappeared. The land was given up to feuds and plunder; it seemed as if an end were made of its prosperity forever. When matters were at the worst, the saving change came through Henry himself. He had learned a lesson from his stormy career, and recognized his duty, aided, perhaps, by the memory of his father's death. Consequently he concluded to stand on the constitutional basis which half a century of struggle had reared, and to accept the Magna Charta as an abiding instrument of government. Accordingly, at a parliament at Marlborough, in 1267, the great charter was restored to the form it had had fifty years before, and the way to reconciliation and durable peace paved by a general amnesty. The monarchy was restored to the enjoyment of the rights of which it had been stripped by the revolution, and without which it was really no monarchy. In return, it restricted itself to the limits prescribed to it in 1215. Its legitimate prerogatives were in no respect curtailed, but care was taken that it should not be able to exercise

these in an extraordinary way without the assent of the estates. Both parties — estates and the king alike — renounced all claim to the arbitrary power which they had hitherto assumed as a right, and anew defined their reciprocal prerogatives and duties, and agreed on a fast rule by which, in case of dispute, an accommodation could be arrived at. Scutage and extraordinary aids could be levied by the king only with the express consent of the crown vassals, and of the knights of the shires and burgesses associated with them in parliament. This body was empowered to give expression to the views and wishes of the land: and, as it not rarely made the granting of the supplies demanded conditional on the redress of grievances, it soon acquired influence in the administration of the state and a share in legislation. For the government naturally now set store on securing the assent of the estates to its more important acts. From these simple practices, growing out of the experiences of a commonwealth almost shipwrecked in the vicissitudes of a desperate struggle, and through usage acquiring the force of law, were gradually evolved the grand principles of the British Constitution: and a foundation — unique of its kind — was secured on which to rear the structure of a national state. To Henry's honor be it said, that he earned forgiveness for his earlier transgressions by loyal observance of the new laws.

During the fifty years of this eventful struggle, England had been able to give but little heed to external affairs, and had, in especial, to see its domains overseas given over to multiform vicissitudes, and continuously diminished. The gain fell to France; it rapidly incorporated the provinces, which gravitated to it in accordance with situation and population, and thus constituted itself, under a series of vigorous and far-seeing kings, into a state advancing more and more towards national unity. Its constitution, in its earlier stages almost purely feudal, became more and more monarchical: and in this form the kingdom advanced to a leading position in Europe at the expense of England and Germany. During the war between Philip of Swabia and Otto IV. for the German throne, Philip Augustus menaced Germany, and inflicted no little damage on it. The count of Flanders, a vassal at once of the German empire and the French crown, and, according to his attitude, dangerous sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, had to cede to him Vermandois, Valois, and Amiens, as the heritage of his wife. The English troubles under Richard the Lion-Hearted led to his ac-

quisition of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou, while for Normandy and the Garonne provinces the Plantagenets were his vassals. The victory of Bouvines confirmed him in his new place of power. Philip had doubled the domains of the crown and in the same degree enhanced its power against the nobles. From the mere precedence in rank which these had formerly conceded to the sovereign, there was now evolved a real overlordship, in virtue of which Philip—like the Salians in Germany a century before—had at his disposal the services of the sub-feudatories, whom he protected in the enjoyment of their estates and rights against the greater crown vassals. Thus the powers of his bailiffs were extended by him without provoking observation, while the decisions of the king's court gained wider and wider effect. This made the severe shock to his prestige due to his long years of marriage-strife forgotten, as well as the serious complications with the Roman Curia resulting therefrom. Immediately after his marriage, in 1193, with the beautiful Dane, Ingeborg, the daughter of King Waldemar (Fig. 105), Philip had it dissolved by the over-compliant French episcopate on the customary plea of consanguinity. On Ingeborg's appeal to Rome, the sentence of divorce was quashed by the pope;



FIG. 105. — Costume of a princess. Miniature of the thirteenth century.

but nevertheless the king married the Tyrolese princess, Agnes of Meran, while the Curia gave no response to the piteous appeals addressed to it by Ingeborg from the nunnery in which she was shut up. There was no change till Innocent III. — anxious to punish the king for his alliance with Philip of Swabia — intervened, and commanded Philip to reject Agnes of Meran, and restore Ingeborg to her rights. As Philip refused, the pope pronounced the interdict on France. To this, notwithstanding that his people were deeply affected by the privation of all religious observances, and became deeply conscience stricken, Philip put on a bold front. Not till he himself was threatened with the ban, did the king indicate any desire

to come to terms. But Innocent repelled every suggestion of mitigating the penalty so long as he continued to live with Agnes, and had not taken Ingeborg back. Ultimately, out of regard to the growing discontent of his people, Philip professed submission, and the interdict was taken off. But he did not keep his word. Agnes, who had borne him two children, was, indeed, dismissed from court; but Ingeborg was retained, not as a queen, but as a prisoner. In 1201 Agnes died, but not till 1213 did the sorely tried Ingeborg return to the home of her husband.

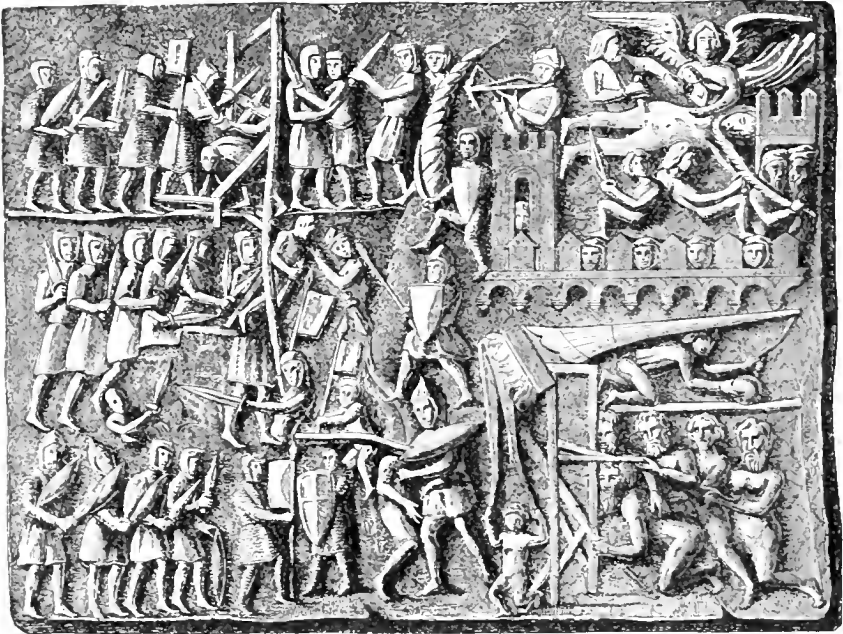
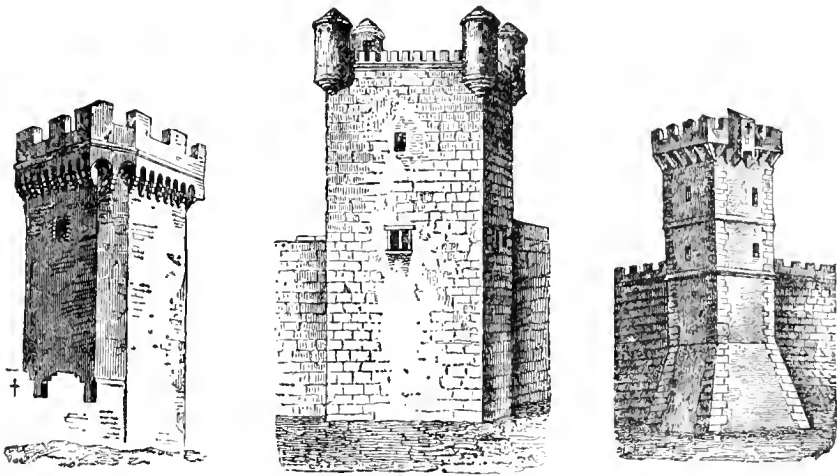


FIG. 106. — Episode in the siege of a city. Thirteenth century relief in the church of St. Nazareth at Carcassonne. (From Laeroix.)

On the foundations laid by Philip for the French monarchy, his two successors built with circumspection and good fortune. His son, Louis VIII. (1223-1226), had indeed, as crown-prince, made a vain attempt to win the English crown; but as king he derived greater gain from the civil troubles that distracted the island-kingdom under Henry III., by thus being enabled to bring all the rich domains as far as the Garonne into his possession.

In the east of France, also, Louis paved the way for an epoch-making extension of the French king's authority. Small communities of the sectaries known as Cathari had long survived in the

Alpine valleys. Their doctrines, in the second half of the twelfth century, attained prominence and wide dissemination through a pious merchant of Lyons, named Peter Waldo, who, freely spending his wealth, gathered a congregation around him which held the principle of evangelical poverty. In spite of penal mandates pronounced against them by Alexander III. and Lucius III., these Waldenses gained more and more respect and influence among those whose anxiety for salvation could not be satisfied by a church which strove mainly for worldly supremacy. Too late did Innocent III. make an effort to lead them back into her bosom, there to employ



FIGS. 107-109. — French fortified towers, about 1300. (From Lacroix.)

FIG. 107. — Tower of Beaucaire, thirteenth century. FIG. 108. — Tower of Narbonne, fourteenth century. FIG. 109. — Tower of the Castle of Angoulême, thirteenth century.

them as a new order. In apostolic simplicity of life and worship, they kept diverging more widely from Rome, whose church was for them no longer the true church. They rejected the dogmas of confession and forgiveness of sins, as well as invocation of the saints, and deduced their system of evangelical truth immediately from the Scriptures. Through a secret system of signs they recognized the initiated without betraying these or themselves to the spies of orthodoxy appointed to entrap them. Re-enforced, especially in Provence, by older heretical communities agreeing with them in essentials, they grew to a very considerable strength, and found energetic patrons in Count Raymond VI. of Toulouse, and Viscount Roger of Béziers and Albi, after which they became known as

Albigenses. Innocent III. took their conversion in hand; and his legate, Peter of Castelnau, so embittered the people by his arbitrary and harsh procedure that he was slain in Béziers. This gave the church the pretext it desired for letting loose upon the land all the terrors of a merciless persecution. A crusade was organized, under Abbot Arnold of Cîteaux, against Raymond of Toulouse, who had already been excommunicated as an accomplice in the murder of the legate. Count Simon de Montfort, with a host of desperate adventurers, burst into his domains, plundering, burning, and slaughtering with inhuman ferocity. Count Raymond sought safety in submission to the church, and humiliated himself so far as to assume the cross



FIG. 110. — The Archbishop of Arles, as feudal lord-paramount, receives the oath of fidelity and homage from a knight, Raymond de Mont-Drac. A French seal of the thirteenth century. Paris Archives. (From Laeroix.)

against his own subjects, only to see himself afterwards bereft of both land and people. Béziers suffered especially at the hands of these champions of the faith. It was ruthlessly demolished, and its inhabitants slaughtered indiscriminately. The county of Toulouse came off little better, the land being given to Simon de Montfort. To keep permanent watch over the survivors, and to insure the continued purity of the faith, the Inquisition was established in the Albigensian districts, and invested with all but unlimited power over conscience and life, every relapse into heresy invoking remorseless persecution. In the Dominicans, 'the sleuth-hounds of the Lord,' the Curia found indefatigable and unscrupulous agents, whose dili-



gence found so high approval that they became objects of imitation elsewhere, while they gradually raised the Inquisition to a church institution. On the death of Simon de Montfort, Raymond endeavored to recover his lands. The conflict burst forth anew; and Simon's son, Amaury, was unable to maintain himself against the attack of the infuriated Albigenses. At length the pope applied for help to Louis VIII., who, as the agent of the church in combating heresy, secured a conquest of extraordinary importance for the future of France. Amaury made over to him his claim to the county of Toulouse, the greatest part of which thus fell to the crown. The remainder, which was left to Count Raymond, was, on the latter's death, to descend to his daughter, who became the wife of the king's brother, Alphonse. The sway of the Capets now reached the Mediterranean. (Cf. Figs. 106-110.)

This commanding position was only transiently shaken after Louis's premature death. Compliant in little things, inflexible in great ones, his widow, the statesmanlike Blanche of Castile, knew how to preserve the royal rights unimpaired in the ten years

that she conducted the regency for her young son Louis IX. (1236-1270). A new rising of Raymond VI. of Toulouse could not alter the destiny of his house and country. And in the thirty-four years during which Louis IX. (Fig. 111) reigned independently, the development of mediæval France, both as regarded internal affairs and foreign relations, reached a point which made this monarch the classical representative, both for his own age and posterity, of a great epoch in the national culture of his people. Through judicious conciliation he succeeded in bringing the century-old war with England to



FIG. 111. — King Louis IX. of France. Miniature of the fourteenth century. Paris, National Library. (From Lacroix.)

a provisional close, the peace of 1259 giving back to Henry III. the south-French possessions of the Plantagenets as a French fief, and conclusively incorporating the others in the Capetian crown-domains. By gaining the hand of the heiress of Provence for his brother, Charles of Anjou, Louis paved the way for the future reversion of this important province. The hereditary monarchy in



FIG. 112. — Scenes from life at the French court in the thirteenth century. Miniature in a manuscript of the thirteenth century. (From Lacroix.) A minstrel sent to Robert, Count of Artois, and brother of King Louis IX., by the Duke of Flanders and Brabant, recites the romance of *Cléomadès* before the countess of Artois, Matilda of Brabant, and Blanche of Castile, queen of France.

France now held sway over so great and, on the whole, so compact and well-unified a realm that the great crown-vassals were no longer a menace to it. For now, with the Isle de France, Normandy, Artois, Vermandois, Touraine, Maine, Berry, and Languedoc were immediately dependent on the king himself: while members of the royal house held sway in Burgundy, Brittany, Boulogne, Poitou, Auvergne, Toulouse, Anjou, Provence, Nevers, and Bourbon. This

enabled Louis gradually to abrogate feudal forms in the administration, which passed into the hands of royal officials, — bailiffs and provosts, — who, under the chancellor as prime minister, constituted the king's privy council. In the much-favored citizens of the free towns, of which he created a large number, he gained for the monarchy a new source of loyal and devoted support. With all his personal piety and zeal in executing the will of the church, Louis IX. was not affected by the high-church tendency predominant in his time, and held inflexibly to the state's right of ordering

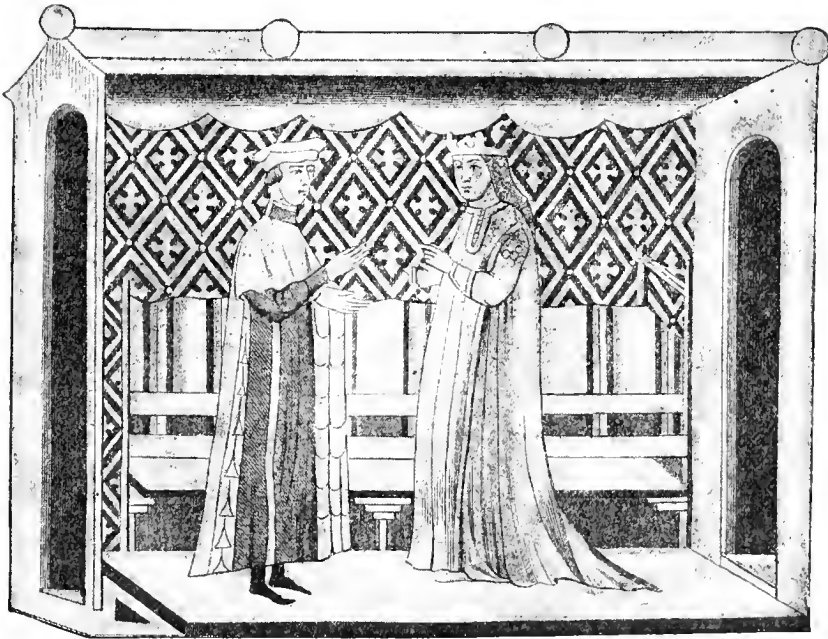


FIG. 113. — Costumes toward the close of the thirteenth century. Miniature in a manuscript of the romance 'Tristan.' Fourteenth century. Paris. National Library. (From Lacroix.)

itself in conformity with its own mission and aims, and, when necessary, of requiring the co-operation of the church. The fate of Frederick II. and his empire confirmed him in his convictions, and contributed to make it one of his chief objects to organize a Gallican church, strong in learning and devotion to its duties, but essentially a national institution. Through the somewhat mythical Pragmatic Sanction of 1269 he is said to have secured this church in the enjoyment of its ancient rights; and by granting the chapters absolute freedom of election, and by the prohibition of simony, he

withdrew it from all foreign influences, even that of the pope, who was specially shut out from exacting dues on the clergy by the proviso that they could make no contributions without the royal assent. The Curia was made to give express recognition to the 'Sanction,' and by so doing was restricted in respect to France as

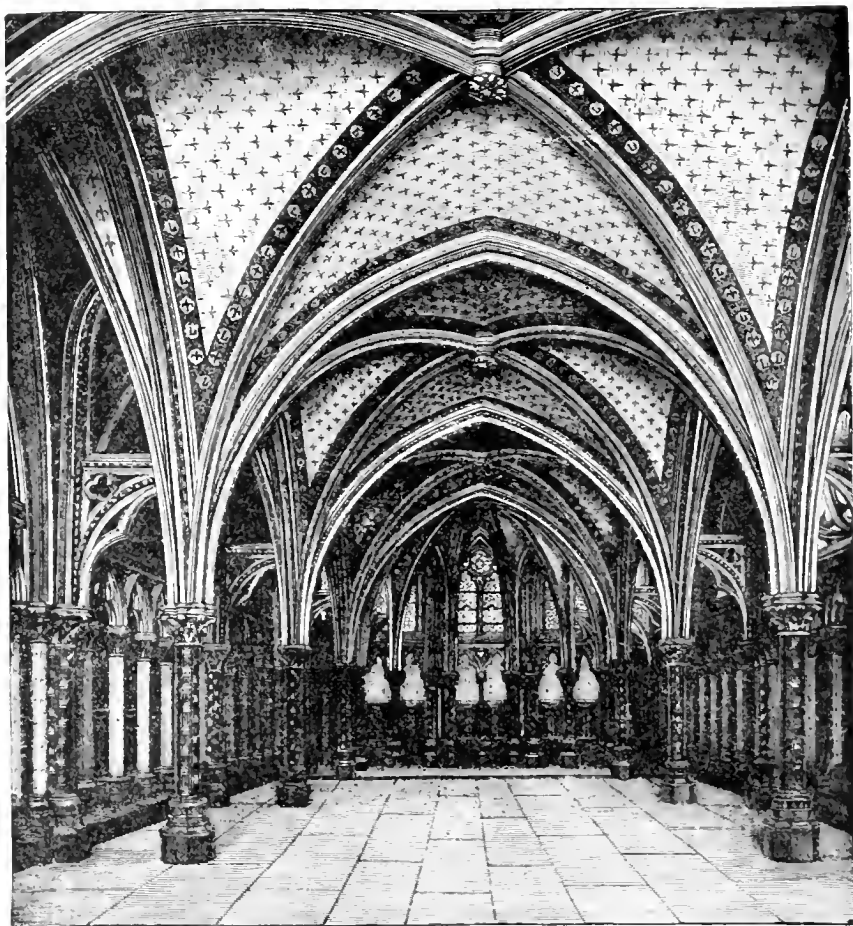


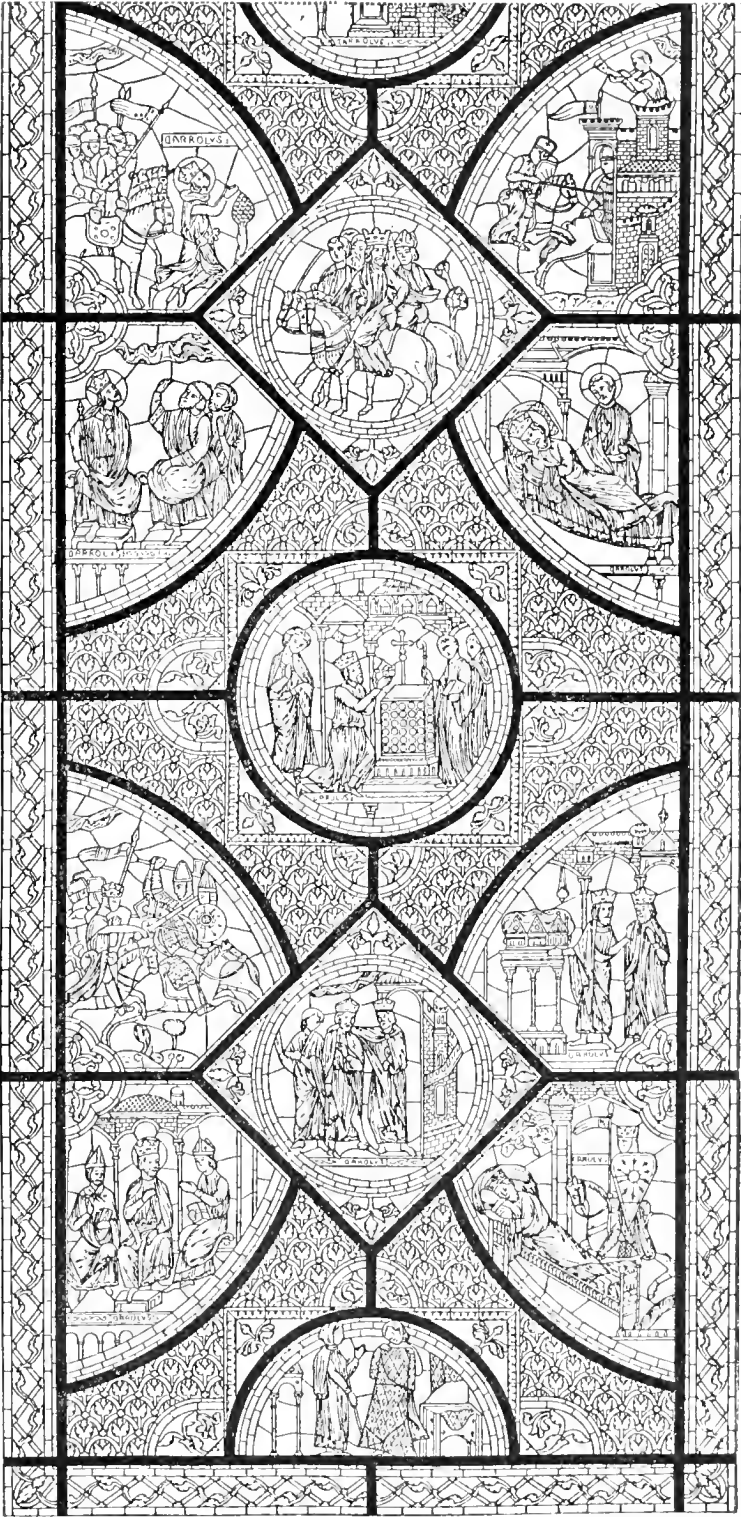
FIG. 111. — Crypt of the former Royal Chapel of St. Chapelle in Paris (1245-48).

it was in regard to no other state. As a basis and guide for the practice of jurisprudence, he caused the generally recognized legal maxims to be embodied in a code, known as the *Établissements de St. Louis*;<sup>1</sup> so that France was already on the way towards a uni-

<sup>1</sup> The *Établissements de St. Louis* can no longer be attributed to Louis IX., being rather an unofficial compilation, according to the investigations of Paul Viollet, "*Etabl. de St. Louis*," Paris, 1881. — Tr.











form national system of law. Science and art, too, found a patron in this monarch, who, induced by his acquaintance with the great book-collections of the Arabs, made the first attempt at founding a public library in Europe (Figs. 112, 113). Of the architectural monuments reared by him, the 'Sainte Chapelle' of Paris, with its unsurpassed delicacy and richness of ornamentation, is a masterpiece of Gothic art (Fig. 114). The great cathedral of Chartres (PLATE IX.<sup>1</sup>) was completed in this century. The conscious

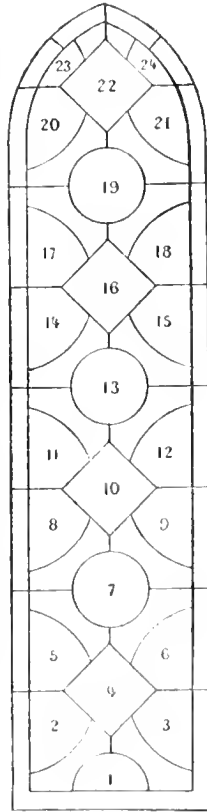
#### <sup>1</sup> EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

The Charlemagne window in Chartres Cathedral. (Ann. arch.)

Stained glass of about 1200 A.D. The subjects here figured are drawn from two Latin manuscripts of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, — the 'Chronicle of the pseudo-Turpin,' and the record of a legend, current about 1060–1080, concerning a supposed expedition of Charlemagne to Constantinople and Jerusalem (*Descriptio qualiter Carolus magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli attulerit, qualiterque Carolus Calvus hac ad Sanctum Dionysium retulerit*). There is no historical foundation for either of these narratives.

The figures in these scenes are in the costumes of the period, and afford much information as to court and ecclesiastical life, etc., toward the close of the twelfth century.

1. Dedication scene: the window is the gift of the guild of fur merchants. 2. Embassadors of Constantine, emperor of the East, inform Charlemagne that the Patriarch of Jerusalem has been driven forth by the infidels: they bring a letter containing the following dream: 3. Constantine, in a dream, beheld the king of the Franks, and an angel, who said unto him, 'Behold him who shall come to thine aid.' 4. Constantine receives Charlemagne. 5. Battle with the heathen beneath the walls of Jerusalem. 6. Constantine offers Charlemagne all his wealth, but Charlemagne will take nothing except some memorials of the passion of Christ. 7. These he has brought to his chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle. Charles the Bald has them taken to St. Denis, and lays the holy crown upon the altar. 8. Charlemagne beholds the Milky Way in the heavens, and seeks an explanation of the phenomenon. 9. St. John appears to Charlemagne in a dream, and orders him to deliver his grave from the infidels, in whose hands it remains. 10. March of Charlemagne to Spain with Archbishop Turpin. 11. Prayer of Charlemagne before Pamplona. 12. Entrance of the Franks into Pamplona. 13. In Compostella, Charlemagne builds for St. John a magnificent church. 14, 15. Battles between Charlemagne and the Saracens Agolant. Miracle of the blossoming lances. God indicates by it the Christians doomed to perish in the battle. 16. The battle of Roncevalles; Roland and King Marsiglio. 17. Roland slays King Marsiglio. 18. Departure of Charlemagne for the battlefield of Roncevalles; Ganelon seeks to dissuade Charlemagne, and to detain him. 19. Roland, calling for aid, blows in his horn Olivant, and with his sword Durandal splits



apostle of a new era, announcing itself in almost every domain of human life, Louis IX. was yet far from being a precipitate reformer, shunning, as he did, any innovation likely to provoke resistance and to imperil the gradual naturalization of the new spirit. While he permitted feudalism to continue unchanged in form, nay, by the erection of the court of peers, consisting of the six greatest ecclesiastical and six greatest lay vassals under the presidency of the sovereign, as the supreme feudal tribunal, secured in the eyes of many its existence for all time; yet this very tribunal was essentially calculated to protect the interests of the monarchy as against the feudal powers. In general it may be said that the historical importance of Louis IX. lies in this, that through his mild, Christian, and eminently statesmanlike personality, and his well-considered, moderate system of administration, at once reforming and conservative, he peacefully reconciled the contrarieties that precipitated other lands into civil strife, and thus facilitated for his people their peaceful transition into a new epoch. In all this we see the reason for the love with which he inspired his subjects, and the reverence with which he was regarded by the partisans of the old system, as well as by those of the new, and why later generations have celebrated him as the nationalist sovereign of mediaeval France, and its real founder as a national state.

a rock in two. 20 Baldwin, Roland's brother, at his side in his last moments, reaching him a helmet from which to drink. 21. Charlemagne receives from Baldwin tidings of Roland's death. 22. An angel floats down with a roll before the altar where St. Aegidius is officiating. Upon this roll is recorded a sin which the emperor had never ventured to disclose at the confessional. 23, 24. Angels swinging censers. (From Vétault.)

## CHAPTER XIII.

### CHRISTIANITY AND MOHAMMEDANISM FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE TWELFTH TO THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

IN the Pyrenean peninsula, first the spread of the Almohades, and then the disintegration of the kingdom of Castile, on the death of Alfonso VIII. (1127–1157), imposed a check on the career of Christian conquest. The labors of the clergy for the restoration of internal peace, and for the arming of all against the unbelievers, could not make harmless the political and dynastic rivalries, aggravated by race-differences in the natives of the various districts. Recourse, therefore, was had to the institution which, standing above all political and national distinctions, had proved itself in the Holy Land effective beyond all else in maintaining a constant and uniform conflict against the infidels. Various new ecclesiastical knightly orders were originated in Spain, in the second half of the twelfth century, mainly on the type of the Orders of the Temple and St. John (Fig. 115), as those of Calatrava, St. James of Compostella, and St. James of Alcantara, and in Portugal that of Evora, all whose members were pledged to devote themselves unreservedly to maintaining the Christian cause. They were invested with various rights and prerogatives, the better to enable them to fulfil their vow. In virtue of the rich possessions with which they were endowed by the princes of the church and the grandees, for the furtherance of their pious and patriotic end, and of their exceptional ecclesiastical and political position, these orders (Figs. 115–118) stood almost outside the sphere of the states they professed to serve. In process of time, through their strong and rigorous organizations they even constituted themselves into little military quasi-states, which menaced the position of the king by encroaching on the latter's military supremacy. It was due to the Orders, however, that, even at this period of domestic dissension and turmoil in the peninsula, the war against the Mussulmans never came entirely to a standstill, and that, notwithstanding all vicissitudes, the domains of the Christians remained at



FIG. 115. — Statue of a Templar. Armor of the first half of the thirteenth century. Tombstone, probably of William Longespee, son of an Earl of Salisbury; he fell in the Holy Land, as Crusader, in 1250. In Salisbury Cathedral. (From Stothard.)



FIG. 116. — Templar in undress. (From Tiron.)



FIG. 117. — Monk of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. (From Tiron.)

the end virtually intact. Of dire visitations and bitter straits there was no lack. After the unfortunate battle of Alarcos, in 1195, where the Christians suffered a bloody defeat, the whole southern half of Castile, with the exception of the strong Toledo, fell once more into Mohammedan hands.

Nor did the situation change materially till the opening of the thirteenth century, when the forces of the zealous Almohades were called elsewhere by a rebellion of the Almoravides in the Balearic Isles. The period of rest thus granted the Christians, with the restoration of peace in their own ranks, enabled them to recover their strength, and take the field with brilliant success against the Emir Mohammed el-Nasr, who, in 1211, had resumed the war against Castile. From the crushing defeat inflicted on him at Navas de Tolosa, July 16, 1212, by the Castilians, supported by the Aragonese and the knightly orders, the Almohades never recovered; the revolts and desertions following on it effecting the disruption of their kingdom into a number of petty independent Mohammedan states, at endless strife among themselves. Under these favorable conditions Castile flourished greatly. Since 1229 united definitely with Leon, it once more took the first place among the Christian states of the peninsula. In 1236 Cordova, the city of the califs, was captured by it; in 1243 Murcia, in 1248 Seville passed into its possession; in 1246 the ruler of Granada purchased from it leave for himself and his people to occupy the luxuriant vale of the Xenil, on the sunny slopes of the Sierra Nevada, a region endowed by nature with exuberant fertility, which they, through artificial irrigation and unwearied industry, converted into one great garden. Protected by the situation from encroachments of the Christians, the relics of the Mohammedans here founded a commonwealth, which, by the successful culture of art and science, recalled the most glorious days of Islam. But the victors continued their conquests, so that by the



FIG. 118. — Knight of the Order of St. John. Earlier nndress costume.

middle of the thirteenth century the Castilian territories reached to the straits of Gibraltar. In the eastern part of the peninsula the Aragonese further extended their sway. In 1233 they made an end of the last remnants of Almoravidian domination, and in 1238 subdued Valencia. Their king, James I. (1213-1276), rightly bore the name of 'Conqueror.' During all this period of successful conflict with the Mussulmans, the Spanish races, in spite of their continuous separation and occasional bitter quarrels, were gradually coalescing into a nation, and developing those traits of character that find expression in the populace of Spain down to the present day. Their character was especially moulded by the fact that an almost unbroken war for their faith constituted the foremost element in the national life. This generated a religious enthusiasm and a zeal for combat such as manifested itself in the other nationalities of the West only when the summons to the Crusades called them forth to battle: and exercised a decided influence on the national development, socially and politically. Every individual Castilian and Aragonese, be his social position what it might, felt himself first of all a knight and gentleman, and carried his chivalric ideas and claims into every relation of life: so that even the political constitution of the state had to be ordered in conformity with these. A lofty appreciation of self, and jealousy for his liberty, were from the earliest times, and still continue to be, characteristic of the Spaniard. The nobles added to these general traits the pride of birth, especially in the case of those who could trace their ancestry up to Visigothic times, or to the period of the earliest contests for the faith. Families thus distinguished acquired in process of time wide estates, and became invested with many prerogatives, their members being known, especially in Aragon, as *ricos hombres* ('rich people'), and occupying much the same position as the German princes of the empire (*Reichsfürsten*). To their sovereign — who was merely the first peer — they were in no degree more bound to fealty and obedience than he was to his duties towards them. Their relations to the king, therefore, they regarded, not as subjection, but as alliance. The attempts of the monarchs to break in upon this exclusive feudal aristocracy, through conferring the same privileges on persons of lower birth or on distinguished foreigners, were uniformly of no avail. And the lesser aristocracy, invested in fiefs out of the princely possessions of the *ricos hombres*, were even more opposed than their superiors to any enhancement of the royal authority.

Both classes, therefore, stood in common for the interests of their caste, as against the crown; and the long years of throne contests which distracted Spain, especially in the fourteenth century, contributed to constitute the nobles, who claimed the right of armed combination, into a power that long held the monarchy in a state of subordination.

To this feudal aristocratic element, with which the episcopate—owning immense estates, and possessed of all but boundless influence over the bigoted populace—was in close alliance, the cities formed a counterpoise. These, not less conscious of their power than jealous of their liberties, evolved, in virtue of their charters (*fueros*), an almost republican system of self-government in communal affairs, while, through their financial resources, they gained no little influence in state matters as well. To induce them to take upon themselves a share of the state burdens, they were given in the thirteenth century the right of representation in the legislatures of the separate provinces, as well as in the national parliament, both of which bodies bore the name of *Cortes*. These, like the estates of England in the time of King John, at first had only the privilege of granting the king extraordinary supplies. In time they acquired the right of presenting grievances and that of making special demands. As they made their consent dependent on the fulfilment of their demands, they finally gained a general control of the administration and a co-operation in legislation. The *Cortes* even acquired the right of assembling without being summoned by the sovereign. Like the nobles, the cities had the right of confederation; and the *Hermanidades*, or communal brotherhoods, played an important rôle in the history of Castile and Aragon. Originally these civic fraternities had only police ends in view, limiting themselves to securing the trade and commerce of the confederate cities against outrage and pillage by the rapacious nobles; but when, later, they allied themselves with the monarchy, and sought to strengthen it in their own interests as against the nobles and clergy, they acquired high political importance, and played a leading part in transforming the aristocratic feudal constitution of Spain. City life developed most richly and characteristically in Aragon, and particularly in Catalonia, whose people, thanks to numerous seaports, early took a leading place in commerce and navigation, and from the middle of the twelfth century enjoyed a large share in the traffic of the Mediterranean.

While, accordingly, on the western scene of the struggle between Christianity and Islam, the victory was by the close of the thirteenth century already decided in favor of the former, the long-menaced Eastern colonies, which had been acquired 200 years before by the First Crusade, were definitely lost about the same time. The kingdom of Jerusalem, sorely threatened on the north since the fall of Edessa, and, through the failure of the Second Crusade, no longer secure on any side, remained for the next forty years without effective support from the peoples who took part in founding it. Of these the French had gradually acquired a predominant influence in its internal development; while its commerce and navigation had come almost entirely into the hands of the Italians, especially of the Genoese and Venetians. The external dangers were heightened by defects in the state organization, which by the over-scrupulous application of the principles of feudal law paralyzed the royal authority, and incapacitated it for executing its most urgent military duties. Even the isolated successes which the Christians gained over the Mussulmans were neutralized by their own endless broils, by which they exposed to the enemy, in the rancor of passion, their growing demoralization.

The abortive Second Crusade had disastrous consequences for the Christians in Palestine. The powerful Nureddin continually extended his conquests from the Euphrates farther westward. In Antioch, Count Raymond's dissolute widow made Renaud de Châtillon, a desperate adventurer, master by giving him her hand. In Jerusalem, Melisende, widow of Fulk of Anjou, ruled for her son, the young Baldwin III. By persisting in holding power after he came of age, Melisende gave occasion for bitter family quarrels; and not until Baldwin, in 1152, took the reins into his own hands, was there any improvement. A vigorous and warlike youth, after an eight months' siege, he captured, in 1153, Ascalon, the port of disembarkment for the Egyptians in their inroads into Palestine. On the Jordan he was victorious over Nureddin. But new difficulties arose for him by the hostility of the Byzantine empire, which had been provoked by an attack by Renaud de Châtillon upon Cyprus. The emperor Manuel appeared with an army in Cilicia, conquered the Christian kingdom of Armenia, took Antioch, and compelled Renaud to do him homage. Baldwin III. appeared before the emperor, who negotiated a truce between him and Nureddin. But the Egyptians in the south and the Turks on the north soon renewed



their attacks. Renand was made prisoner; and King Baldwin, amid these disturbances, died in February, 1162, poisoned, it was said, by a Saracen physician. His brother, Amaury I. (1162–1173), who succeeded him, was also a brave and able soldier, but little loved by reason of his morose and imperious disposition. He deemed he could most effectually secure the future of his tottering kingdom by an attack upon Egypt, which seemed at that time easy to master. There the effete Fatimite dynasty had made over their authority to their viziers, often adventurous desperadoes who attained eminence by the most questionable means. Repeatedly did the office of the vizier become the object of contention among these *parvenus* hungry for power, one of whom at this time paved the way to Egypt for Nureddin. On the Vizier Shawer's cry for help against his native adversaries, Nureddin despatched thither the Kurd Shirkuh with an



FIG. 119. — Lead seal of King Amaury. (From Vogüé.)

army. But when Shawer saw himself menaced by this professed protector, and required by him to swear fealty to Nureddin, he next appealed for succor to the Christians of Palestine, and by so doing hastened Amaury's march to Egypt. But while the latter, in conjunction with Shawer, was besieging Shirkuh in Bilbeis, Nureddin invaded the Holy Land, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Christians, in consequence of which Amaury (Fig. 119) had to hurry home. Yet the new alliance was not dissolved; and, again in 1167, Amaury, as Shawer's ally, advanced to the Nile, where he fought at first successfully, threatening Cairo itself, to be, however, ultimately defeated near the ancient Hermopolis. Shirkuh now captured Alexandria, of which he appointed his later renowned nephew, Saladin, governor. While Shirkuh himself was engaged in subdu-

ing Upper Egypt, Saladin was besieged by land and sea in Alexandria by Amaury, and was on the eve of surrendering when the latter concluded peace with Shirkuh because his own kingdom was being once more ravaged by Nureddin. Matters in Egypt reverted to their old condition, and Shawer was again vizier.

But these conflicts were only the prelude to a revolution in the whole relations of the Eastern powers most eventful for the Christians. King Amaury, allured by the riches of the Nile-land, allied himself with Byzantium for the subjugation of the Fatimites. He opened his attack in the late autumn of 1168, whereupon Shawer turned for succor to Nureddin, who by the despatch of Shirkuh quickly compelled the withdrawal of the Christians. The Kurd chief, however, himself occupying Cairo and seizing the office of vizier. He died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by his nephew, who had already won high distinction as a warrior. By nature Saladin



FIG. 120. — Coin of Saladin, Cairo, 1190. Covered with Arabic inscriptions, containing the name and titles of Saladin (Imām, or Calif-Achmet), name of mint-master and mint, with date of minting (586=1190), and sentences of religious import. Original size. (Berlin.)

(Fig. 120) was a born ruler, endowed with high gifts both of head and heart, and, with all his zeal for the faith, with a sense of humanity. He was, besides, an organizer of no ordinary abilities, an administrator of wide views and firm hand, a friend of learning and art, and, in short, the most illustrious product of sinking Mohamedanism. Saladin, virtually master of the kingdom of the Fatimites, on the calif's death, in 1171, seized the califate of Egypt, conceding to Nureddin only the show of suzerainty. On the latter's death, in 1174, the illustrious Kurd, taking advantage of the feuds that broke forth among his heirs, seized Damascus, Hems, Hamah, and Baalbec, and made himself absolute sultan. A new Mohammedan state thus came into existence, extending from Cairo to the north of Syria, environing the little Frankish kingdom on three sides, and destined eventually to subdue it, and this all the more certainly that it was at this period a prey to internal strife and disorder.

Amaury I., who died in 1173, was succeeded by his son, Baldwin IV. (1173–1185), who was only thirteen years old, and who succumbed to leprosy after twelve years. Of the magnates contending for the regency, Raymond, Count of Tripoli, was the successful competitor; but he, also, was unable to give a more fortunate turn to the conflict against the mighty new adversary. The help sent from the West continued to be inadequate; and when larger bands of Crusaders made their appearance, only a poor use was made of them. The want of adequate generalship rendered even their occasional successes of no real avail, and induced only sudden vicissitudes, which, however attractive to the romance-loving errant adventurer,

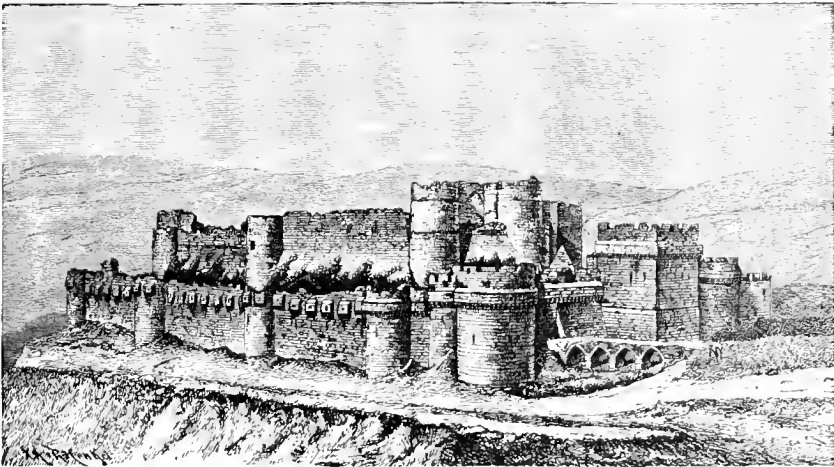
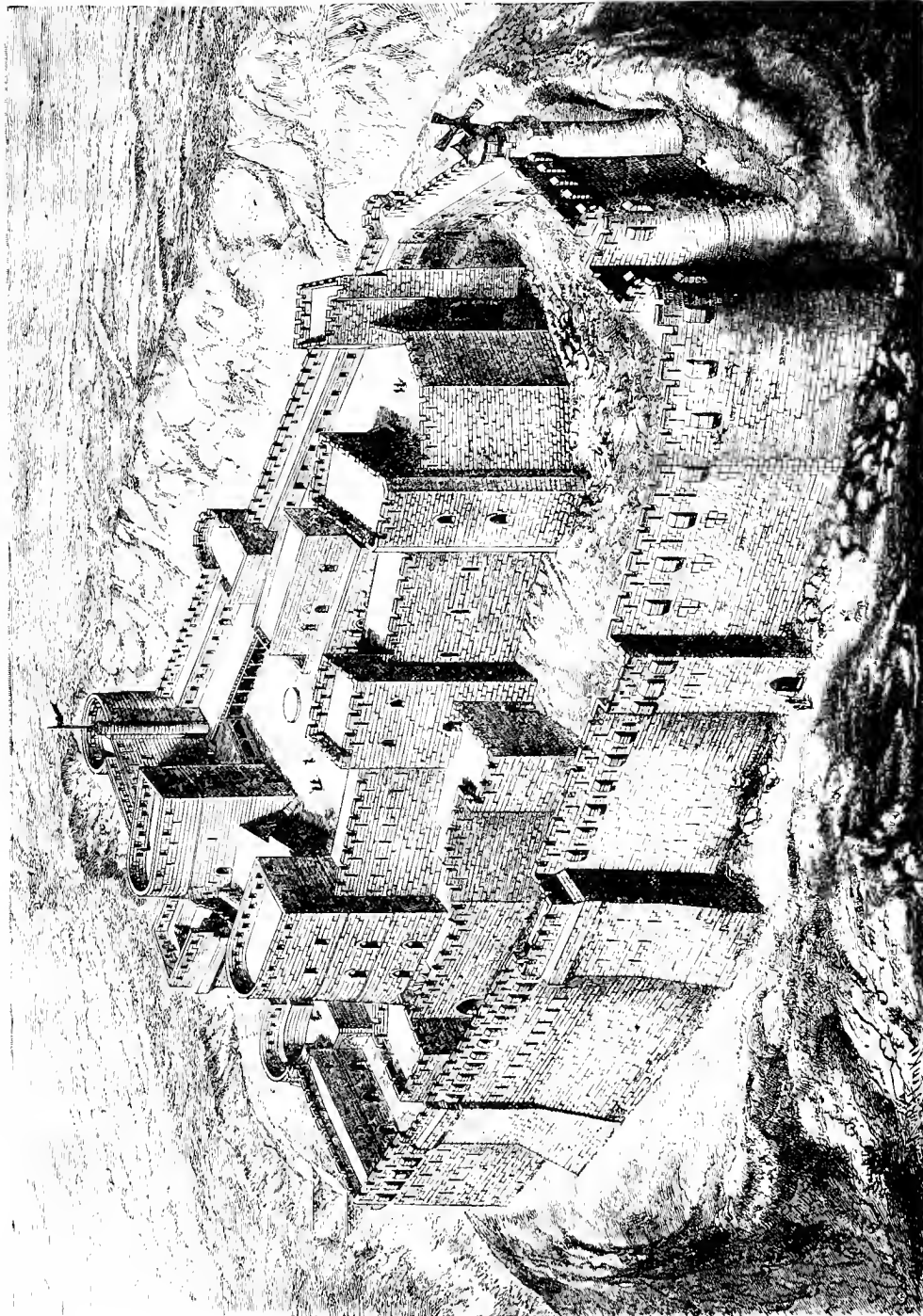


FIG. 121. — Ruins of the Castle of the Order of Hospitallers at Kerak, east of the Dead Sea. (From Rey.)

were seriously harmful to both land and people. A brilliant victory won by the Christians at Ramleh, in 1178, was followed by a severe defeat at Jacob's Ford of the Jordan, near Banias. To this indecisive contest a temporary stop was put by an armistice in 1182, during which Saladin subdued Mesopotamia, and won the overlordship of Aleppo and Iconium. But, as usual, the Christians thought themselves in no way bound to keep faith with the infidel, but by predatory expeditions into the region of Damascus, and as far south as the Gulf of Akabah, alarmed the sultan's brother, Al-Afdal, charged with the defence of Egypt. At that moment Saladin himself, in 1183, burst into Palestine, and ravaged the land as far as

Mount Tabor and Nazareth. His assault, however, on the strong castle of Kerak (Krak), or Montroyal (Fig. 121; PLATE X.), on the south of the Dead Sea, which commanded the caravan route from Cairo to Damascus, was repulsed by its intrepid governor, Renaud de Châtillon, and the young king, who opportunely hurried to his support. A temporary peace followed, and deferred for a short time the catastrophe impending over the Christian rule. But this became inevitable when Baldwin IV., in 1185, succumbed to his cruel malady. He was succeeded by his nephew, Baldwin V., a minor, who died in the following year. The Frankish dynasty, even in the female line, became thus extinct; and the succession became the object of violent struggles and intrigues. These ended in the illegal election of Guy of Lusignan, the second husband of Baldwin V.'s mother, Sibylla. He was an unwarlike weakling, who, contenting himself with the empty title of king, gave over the real power to the nobles, and especially to the masters of the Templars and the Knights of St. John. Raymond of Tripoli was his bitter enemy. At this critical juncture, when the tottering kingdom was torn by strifes threatening civil war, the bad faith of Renaud de Châtillon, who, in spite of the armistice, attacked one of Saladin's caravans, furnished the Sultan with the occasion he desired for unchaining the religious bigotry of his subjects. Aggravated by the revolutions of the last years, it was easy to inflame them into a war for the faith, which, if successful, would most effectually confirm his new dynasty in its usurped position.

In the spring of 1187 the great struggle broke out, from whose disastrous results Christian rule in the East was never to recover. While Saladin himself appeared before Montroyal, in order to chastise the faithless peace-breaker, his brother, Al-Afdal, burst into the district of Acre, and there inflicted a defeat at Nazareth on the Christian knights, and especially on the Templars, who, confident of victory, had ridden forth to meet him. The general summons was now issued; and the Christians assembled near the Galilean village Sephoria, where there was a fine spring of water. When Saladin himself came into the district, burned the city of Tiberias, and invested its citadel, which was defended by the Countess of Tripoli, Count Raymond recommended that the host should await the attack in this favorable place. But he was accused of having a private understanding with the enemy, and it was resolved to advance against the sultan. By slow marches the army arrived,



The so-called "Kurds' Castle," Fortress of the Hospitallers, at Kerak (le Crac des Chevaliers), southeast of Dead Sea. Reconstruction. (From Rey.)



on July 4, at Hittin, all but exhausted with the heat of a Syrian summer, and encamped on the slope of a bare, inaccessible mountain. Saladin surrounded this, and by setting fire to the dry grass and brush aggravated the sufferings of the Franks. When they offered battle on the following day, he retreated, and drew them, all but worn out through thirst and scorching heats, after him for hours before he accepted their challenge. July 5, 1187, closed with the complete overthrow of the Christians, who were deliberately cut to pieces by the embittered victors. The Templars, in especial, suffered terribly, Saladin causing such of them as fell into his hands to be beheaded, and slaying with his own hand the faithless Renaud de Châtillon. The Franks bewailed above all the capture of the remains of the Sacred Cross. Among the prisoners was King Guy. Raymond of Tripoli escaped, more than ever suspected of treacherous correspondence with Saladin, and died shortly afterwards in Tyre. Sending his captives to Damascus, where the men of rank were treated honorably, and those of lower account sold as slaves, Saladin made all haste to improve his victory by the complete conquest of the Christian kingdom. Acre fell a few days after the battle; and soon, of all the coast cities, only Ascalon and Tyre were left in the hands of the Christians. The former, on the advice of King Guy, who was in the train of the Sultan, surrendered also. The garrison of Kerak (Montroyal), after a heroic resistance, was permitted to depart free, while the inhabitants of the captured towns were sent mostly to Jerusalem, which was thus so over-crowded with fugitives that when it was invested it was threatened with the horrors of famine. The city itself Saladin wished to spare, as being as sacred in the eyes of Mussulmans as in those of the Christians: so, after a siege of twelve days, he granted it terms by which the inhabitants were, on payment of ransom, allowed to withdraw to such of the coast towns as were still in possession of their brethren. On October 3, 1187, he made his entry into Jerusalem, the churches of which became once more mosques, while even the Christians, many of whom were clothed and fed by his orders, were compelled to acknowledge his magnanimity and clemency. After the remaining castles had been destroyed, Saladin assailed the great maritime city of Tyre, which was, however, intrepidly and successfully defended by the chivalrous Conrad of Montferrat, who had just arrived from the West. This raised, in some measure, the spirits of the depressed Franks; and sallies were made from Antioch and Tyre, while, at the

same time, a Genoese fleet appeared off the coast. Yet the kingdom remained threatened in its very existence, and could be securely re-established only through energetic succor from the West.

There the news of the loss of Jerusalem made a profound impression: yet the unfavorable political situation of Europe tended to prevent the fervid advocacy of Cardinal Henry of Albano, commissioned by Clement III. to preach a new war for the faith, from having the effect hoped for. The Anglo-French war and the troubles in Germany scarcely permitted an enterprise so remote to be seriously thought of at the moment. Of the storm of enthusiasm roused by the preaching of the First and Second Crusades, there was no longer a trace. The princes on whose ability the church could best reckon entered upon the matter with a coolness of political calculation, and a careful regard to military considerations, such as had not been manifested hitherto. Unquestionably this was a gain, for more system in preparation and uniformity in direction could not but enlarge the chances of success. In any case the danger in the East had the effect of inducing the princes to come the quicker to an understanding with each other. Henry II. of England and Philip II. of France made peace. Philip of Cologne effected his reconciliation with the emperor: and in March, 1188, the mighty Barbarossa, with his eldest son, Frederick of Swabia, and many of his nobles and prelates, assumed the cross at Mayence. Preparations now went forward vigorously: and, in the spring of 1189, the German contingent, under the immediate leadership of the emperor, began its march from Ratisbon, while the Thuringians, Friesians, and Lower Saxons marched to the sea. The English and French were to form a juncture at Messina, and sail thence together for the Syrian coast.

While the departure of the latter powers was delayed, first by the death of Henry II., and then by the adventures of his son Richard in Sicily, the German crusaders who had arrived in the Byzantine empire experienced great hindrances at the hands of the Greeks, notwithstanding previous compacts. At length the emperor had to take to arms and occupy, first Philippopolis, then Adrianople, and finally all Thrace, so as to make the intrigues harmless through which the Byzantine court was planning, in concert with Saladin and the Sultan Kilidj Arslan of Iconium, to destroy him. Not till March, 1190, was a new compact arrived at, when the Germans crossed the Hellespont. At the end of April they passed out of



Greek territory into that of the nomad Turkomans, where, through an uninterrupted series of skirmishes, they had to suffer privations and hardships of all kinds, in particular losing nearly all their horses. Their ruin seemed inevitable when they found Kilidj, who had been brought to a friendly understanding, replaced in the sultanate of Iconium by his son, a fanatical Christian-hater. Toil-worn and exhausted through want, they came on the latter's overwhelmingly superior force within sight of the capital. But the battle of Iconium, fought May 18, 1190, nevertheless ended in a complete victory for the Germans, who had now everything in their favor. All their perils seemed overcome when they reached the territory of the Christian Armenians, where the best reception awaited them from King Leo III. But while the army, led by Armenian guides, advanced slowly over toilsome mountain paths southwards, the emperor hurried, with a meagre following, down into the vale of the Selef (the Calycadnus of the ancients) to meet King Leo in Selencia. There, on June 10, 1190, he was suddenly drowned, according to some in crossing a ford, according to others, while taking a bath to mitigate the excessive heat. The army arrived in the evening, and with the deepest grief learned their loss, which they tried in some measure to repair by nominating the emperor's son, Duke Frederick of Swabia, as their commander. Frederick I.'s heart and skeleton were, according to the usage of the times, temporarily deposited in the Cilician Tarsus: and the flesh, boiled off from the bones, was interred in St. Peter's Church, Antioch, where a German traveller saw the coffin, recognizable by its inscription, in 1205. On moving to Palestine the soldiers carried the emperor's bones along with them with the view of laying them to final rest in some specially consecrated spot, after the capture of the Holy City. The lamentable issue of the crusade prevented this, and the remains of the great Barbarossa were probably left to moulder unregarded in the sands of the camp before Acre.

For Frederick's death (Fig. 122) caused the collapse of the admirably organized German crusade. The Germans felt like a flock in the wilderness without a shepherd, and many of them took ship at the nearest port for home. The others found a too generous reception in Antioch, many falling victims to the sudden transition from the toils and privations of their mountain and desert marches to the indulgences of a luxurious city. Duke Frederick carried the miserable remnants of the German force to the camp before



FIG. 122. Emperor Frederick I. Relief in stone, in the Cloister of St. Zeno in Bavaria, about 1170-1190. (From von Hefner-Alteneck.)

Acre, where it took up the position assigned it on the line of investment.

On the Anglo-French united army the fortunes of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem now hung. To the spirit of planless adventure from which the joint enterprise had suffered from the first, there was now superadded that of mistrust between its two heads, Richard of the Lion Heart, and Philip Augustus. They had effected a junction at Messina; but there the intrigues of the English king interposed such obstacles to their departure, that a complete rupture seemed imminent. At length Philip, wearied out, and hoping to induce his capricious ally to follow him, set sail again, and joined the army of the Syrian Christians, who, succored by the Italian maritime cities, had commenced the siege of Acre. But months elapsed ere the English arrived on the scene; for Richard had on his way, on the pretext of hostilities practised on his army, seized Cyprus, and carried off Isaac Comnenus as prisoner. The island he sold to the Templars, and later it came as a kingdom into the possession of Guy of Lusignan and his posterity. Not till July, 1191, did Richard appear in the camp before Acre, where already a gigantic struggle was in progress. While the Christians held the city shut in by a wide semicircular line of circumvallation, Saladin, who had summoned all Mussulmans to the war for the Faith, appeared with a strong relieving force, and took up a commanding position on the heights overlooking the coast-plain, so that the Christians were now, in turn, the besieged party, and had to intrench themselves against attacks from the land-side. But they continued to gain advantages and to make progress, till finally, in July, 1191, the brave defenders of Acre had to capitulate. Saladin retired; but the exhausted condition of the crusaders, and their dissensions, prevented them from improving their victory. National jealousies, too, contributed largely to the collapse of their enterprise. The Germans in particular were relegated to a secondary place, nay, misused by the English and French, and shut out from their share of the booty. The crown of the still unconquered kingdom became the subject of embittered quarrels between Guy of Lusignan and his brave and able brother-in-law, Conrad of Montferrat, who had a claim on the gratitude of all for his deliverance of Tyre. Ultimately an arrangement was arrived at, by which Guy was to have the crown during his life, it devolving on his death on Conrad and his heirs.

By this time the relations between the two great sovereigns had

become so intolerable, that Philip, on the pretext of sickness, set out for France with the view of improving Richard's absence by making conquests at his expense. The leadership of the war thus fell entirely into the hands of Richard (Fig. 123). But he did not long maintain himself in this position. His unstable and capricious nature let even the best opportunities pass unimproved. Thus, in the autumn of 1191 he advanced to Jaffa, which Saladin had destroyed, and thence to within one day's march of Jerusalem, only to wheel suddenly around to restore Ascalon, which had also been demolished. Again, in June, 1192, he approached Jerusalem, only again



FIG. 123. — King Richard Coeur de Lion. Design on his seal. (From Demay.)

to withdraw just when Saladin was contemplating evacuating it. In the quixotic encounters of the following months Richard won — even from the Mohammedans — the renown of a reckless dare-devil, but, instead of effecting anything of real service to the cause, rather squandered his resources on foolhardy adventures. Moreover, the terrible suspicion arose, — probably due to the slanders of his many foes, — that he had instigated the murder, in Tyre, of Conrad of Montferrat, through two emissaries belonging to the murderous tribe of the Assassins. Of this there is not, indeed, a shadow of evidence. The question of the throne succession was now so settled, that Henry of Champagne, the son of Richard's half-sister, got the

crown of Jerusalem, while Guy of Lusignan, who during the war had played a sorry rôle, was compensated by the dominion of Cyprus. Richard left the Holy Land in the autumn of 1192, after having concluded a truce with Saladin for three years, which left the coast from Tyre to Jaffa, with the half of Ramleh and Lydda, in the hands of the Christians, and granted free access to Jerusalem to all pilgrims.

This pitiful result of a crusade that, more than any one before it, had combined all the conditions of success, had a discouraging effect on all western Christendom. Men ceased to take an interest in eastern enterprises as such, and the cause of the crusades was no longer popular. Even the manner in which it was taken up by Henry VI. in the interest of Hohenstaufen imperialism proves that crusading was no longer looked at from a religious or church point of view, but from a political and military one. Without doubt this enhanced the possibility of making it a success; but in this domain, as elsewhere, a complete change was wrought by Henry's premature death. In September, 1197, Archbishop Conrad of Mayence landed with a gallant army at Acre, and successfully assaulted the strong castle of Tibnin, only to see it lost after the terms of capitulation had been agreed on, by the unlooked for appearance of a strong relieving force. To complete his chagrin, scarcely had the enemy been made to evacuate the important Beirut when the news of Henry's death broke up the expedition. Its only result was the founding of the order of the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary, and the enlargement of a hospital erected during the siege of Acre for the nursing of sick German pilgrims, on the plan of those of the Knights of St. John and the Temple. The Teutonic Order rapidly rose to high importance after it was induced, by a happy turn of circumstances, to seek its chief field of action no longer in the irredeemably lost Holy Land, but among the pagan Prussians beyond the Vistula.

The management of the war against Mohammedanism reverted once more to the papacy. Thus the Eastern struggle lost in prominence, and became only an element in the great conflict which the Romish church was waging against all heretics. The consequence was a division of strength, the effect of which the defenders of the remnants of Christian sway in the East soon found to their cost. It is especially significant, that with all the powerful apparatus Innocent III. set in motion he was unable to effect anything of consequence in this once so grand field. The army of

preachers who scoured the lands under his commission, the legates armed with plenipotentiary powers, the enormous tithes levied, the crucifixes erected to mark the places of assemblage, were now ineffective. In Germany, especially, all this resulted only in growing alienation from the Curia and its church. There only isolated princes were found to listen to the summons to Palestine; and when at last, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, a stately crusading host had been got together, its destination was, through a peculiar chain of circumstances, diverted to quite another direction. And when, at last, the preaching of the crusade became debased by the popes into a weapon to be used against the Hohenstaufens, and bands of greedy adventurers, decorated with the cross, took the field to subvert states and subjugate their peoples, the glamour which had hitherto surrounded these expeditions vanished entirely. Such enterprises came to be regarded with ever growing aversion as a means of strengthening the temporal yoke of the church.



FIG. 121. — Coin of Alexius II. Comnenus. The Emperor and St. Eugenius on horseback. Size of original. (Berlin.)

After various feeble attempts on the Holy Land had proved resultless, the enthusiastic Fulk de Neuilly was at length successful in gathering a number of princes, nobles, and prelates, especially out of France, Flanders, and Italy, for a new crusade. Count Baldwin of Flanders and the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, a brother of the Conrad murdered at Tyre, being the most distinguished members. As a recompense for their transport, the crusaders bound themselves to assist the Venetians in the capture of the city of Zara on the Dalmatian coast. There Alexius Angelus appeared in their camp, praying for aid to restore his dethroned father, Isaac Angelus, and to secure his own succession. On the treacherous gleam of prosperity that had smiled on the Byzantine empire under Manuel, there had now followed a period of incurable disorder. Manuel's younger son, Alexius (1180-1183, Fig. 121), was deposed by Andronicus Comnenus, a desperate adventurer, who, not without capacity for exercising a vigorous rule and reforming the disorganized

administration, made what little good he did forgotten by the reign of terror he initiated in order to maintain himself in possession of his usurped power. Threatened, like so many others, with death, Isaac Angelus, a scion of the female line of the Comneni, made his escape, and was soon at the head of a powerful popular movement that dethroned Andronicus, and elevated him to the throne (1185-1195). But Isaac, an unwarlike debauchee, was soon as much an object of hatred as his predecessor had been, while Wallachia and Bulgaria renounced allegiance to him, and founded national states. Dreading the mighty movement that had armed Christendom for the Third Crusade, he sought to put impediments of all kinds in the way of Frederick I., but succeeded only in getting Thrace devastated by the Germans. He even entered into alliance with Saladin and the Sultan of Iconium, and heartily rejoiced over the melancholy outcome of the expedition. Universally hated, he was driven from the throne by a military revolt led by his brother Alexius III. Caught



FIG. 125. — Venetian Coin. Obv.: Enrico Dandolo and St. Mark. Rev.: the Saviour enthroned. Size of original. (Berlin.)

in the act of flight, he was deprived of his eyes, and cast into a miserable dungeon. But his son Alexius escaped and sued, as has been said, for help from the crusaders then besieging Zara. The brilliant rewards that he held out as recompense captivated the Venetians, while the prospect of winning the Byzantine empire and people for the Romish church decided the Curia in favor of diverting the expedition from its proper end. So the Crusaders sailed for Constantinople, among the leaders being the gray-haired Doge, Enrico Dandolo (Fig. 125), who used his influence and skill to turn the strength of Western Christendom to account for the benefit of his own city. In April, 1204, Constantinople was taken, when the Emperor Alexius III. (1195-1203) fled, and Isaac Angelus was reinstated, with his son Alexius IV. as his colleague. But his rule, restored by foreign arms, stood on insecure footing. The defiant arrogance of the Frankish warriors, his allies, aggravated the discontent of the disillusioned people, given over as a prey to merciless foreign adven-

turers and the rapacious Venetians, and menaced in its religious convictions by the seemingly imminent supremacy of the Romish church. Thus the populace of the city rose in open revolt, led by a relative of the imperial house, Alexius V. Ducas (surnamed Murtzuphlus), who, after the death of Isaac in the beginning of the movement and the murder of his son, was placed on the vacant throne. But the Crusaders did not mean to let their prey escape them. They invested the mighty city by land and sea, and, notwithstanding its desperate defence, in two months made themselves masters of it. Constantinople, the centre, since Constantine's days, of the Graeco-Roman world, and replete with the trophies of architecture and the fine arts, as well as with treasures and costly objects of all kinds, was for weeks given over to unchecked plundering and barbarous devastation, during which a large part of the glorious city was destroyed by fire.

In the enjoyment of the fruits of their victory the princes of the Crusade lost sight of their original object, and resolved instead on making themselves masters of the now lordless empire; Alexius III. tarrying as a fugitive in Thrace, and Alexius Ducas having been blinded and then executed by the Franks. They decided to rule the state in common, with the Roman Catholic as the national church. Wide lands were thus subjected to a foreign rule, which desired to impose the alien feudal system on a Graeco-Slavic people, and to put an end to a religious conflict of centuries' standing. The Latin empire, whose crown fell to the foremost prince of the host, Baldwin of Flanders, possessed scarcely one of the qualities essential to its successful development. In place of an empire, several frail petty states were called into existence, altogether incapable of coping successfully with the dangers and difficulties with which they were encompassed. Boniface of Montferrat reigned, as king of Thessalonica, over Macedonia and the contiguous districts of Greece; Frankish principalities arose in Athens, Thebes, Achaia, and other districts, whose rulers, in turn, invested their vassals with counties and baronies. Under the rigid form of the feudal state, a system of land-robbery on a grand style was inaugurated, such as had been carried out by the German chiefs in the days of the Great Migrations. This unnatural condition of matters could not but embitter the native population to the very last degree against its new lords, with whom, and their noble brothers in arms, it had nothing in common, while its subjection to the Romish



mode of worship was, in its eyes, nothing less than sacrilege. The Fourth Crusade, therefore, initiated to succor the sorely distressed kingdom of Jerusalem, had resulted only in the erection in the southeast of Europe of a new state of the same feeble character, which could maintain its existence only through continuous help from the West, and became a fatal rival to the Christians of Jerusalem. The only gainers from the whole enterprise were the Venetians, to whom not only the rich coast-districts of the Aegean Sea fell, but a position so exceptionally favorable to their trade and navigation, that the Latin empire seemed to be made over to them for the profit of their commerce, and to become the special source whence the glorious island-city drew its wonderful riches. In contrast to the Frankish princes and barons, however, these adroit islanders speedily evolved an admirable system of administration



FIG. 126.—Copper Coin of Juluk-Arslan, prince of Diarbekir, of the year 1193, in which Saladin died. On the obverse four women bewailing the death of Saladin. On the reverse, in Arabic, names, dates, etc.

for their new provinces, and were soon on excellent terms with their Greek subjects. The old Byzantine empire became a source of strength for their political and commercial position in the East, which they were able to maintain, even when the Latin empire had to succumb to its inevitable doom.

The so-called kingdom of Jerusalem, left without help from the West, was relieved from attacks by the sudden death of Saladin in 1193 (Fig. 126), and the contests among his sons and nephews consequent thereon. Scarcely had their broils been quelled by the victory of the mighty sultan's brother, Al-Afdal, who kept Syria in firm subjection as the vicegerent of his nephew, Al-Aziz, when the great war was renewed. But Amaury's successor in the titular kingdom of Jerusalem, John de Brienne, a brave knight of Champagne, husband of the granddaughter of Amaury, strove in vain to maintain his tottering monarchy, while Innocent III. labored with increased

zeal to arm Christendom once more for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. But the latter's success was far from satisfactory. Here and there, indeed, the hierarchical-ascetic spirit was moved in a sort of sentimentally enthusiastic way, but it never came to more than some sporadic or fantastic effort. To this class of enterprises belonged the Childrens' Crusade of 1212. Incited by the so-called vision of a French shepherd-boy, bands of boys and girls, led by monks and priests who misconstrued the text, 'Suffer little children to come unto Me,' sallied forth from France, Germany, and Italy, to accomplish the work that the knighthood and princes of Europe had essayed to so little purpose. Naturally the youthful fanatics fell victims to their toils and privations on the way. Fortunate were those who reached home alive or died on the way, as compared with the thousands who were sold into hopeless slavery. This was the last flicker of the old crusading spirit. On Innocent's death the movement, as a popular one, came to a final close. What was thereafter undertaken was led by individual princes, who, filled with a spirit of churchly or political adventure, sought their fortune beyond the seas through hired mercenaries. The nations no longer took part in the struggle. And yet, even then, a gleam of good fortune seemed to smile on the Eastern Christians.

At the instigation of Honorius III., King Andrew (or Andreas) II., of Hungary, the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, with many prelates and nobles, made their way to Palestine, soon, however, after a fruitless campaign in concert with John de Brienne, to return home disappointed, only Leopold of Austria and the German bishops remaining behind. When a stately fleet appeared with numerous Friesian, Netherland, and Cologne crusaders, under the Counts of Holland and Wied, they resolved, on the advice of the Venetians, to make the first attack on Damietta in Egypt. One of the greatest sieges of the whole age ensued around this strong place on the Nile. As the Christians kept receiving new re-enforcements, and the Sultan Al-Kamel kept summoning every man fit to carry arms to the scene, the struggle on the swampy lowlands of the Nile assumed ever more colossal proportions. The heroic endurance of the defenders and the persistent tenacity of the assailants were in keeping with the conviction on both sides, that the conflict between Christianity and Mohammedanism was here to be fought to the bitter end. At length, in November, 1219, the city fell, filled with the corpses of its dead. But the attempt of the Christians

to press forward to Cairo miscarried. Hemmed in on all sides by Al-Kamel's army and fleet and the floods of the Nile, they were at last fain to purchase unmolested withdrawal by the surrender of the conquered city. In September, 1220, after arranging an eight years' truce, with mutual release of prisoners, and the restoration to the Christians of the relics of the true cross, the Franks evacuated Damietta, and returned to Acre.

Even during the arduous struggle before Damietta the Christians had looked anxiously for the advent of Frederick II., who had, in the meantime, assumed the cross. He alone seemed capable of bringing about a favorable turn for them. But not till 1228 did he take an active part, and even then under circumstances that precluded a decided success. The church did not allow him to win the fame which had been the bait held out to him by her to induce him to take action. Yet what Frederick did attain by way of peaceful understanding was far from little. Himself a freethinker, unaffected by religious enthusiasm, tolerant towards all creeds, and entirely devoid of sympathy with the spirit that prompted the Crusades, Frederick regarded the task here set before him simply from the standpoint of policy, and, in accordance therewith, made immaterial concessions to the Saracens, which the Curia and its zealous partisans denounced as treason to religion,—aiming, probably, to prejudice the unthinking masses against the emperor. The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem was not, indeed, restored by him; but the city, sacred to Christians and Mohammedans alike, became a place of religious toleration. For after the treaty concluded between him and Al-Kamel, February 18, 1229, while the mosque of Omar was given into the hands of the Mussulmans, all else within the walls, as well as Bethlehem and Nazareth and the coast from Jaffa to Sidon, was left in possession of the Christians. The emperor's act of self-coronation, on March 18, was the last success which the Christians were there to enjoy. What, indeed, could be expected, when an Archbishop of Caesarea might dare to lay even the sacred city under interdict as the residence of the excommunicated Hohenstaufen? In any case, Frederick could not be held answerable when the city which he had won again fell into the hands of the Saracens immediately on the expiration of the ten-years' truce.

The Curia itself, through its implacable hatred of Frederick, and its desire to support the moribund Latin empire of Constantinople

against the schismatic Greeks, doomed to extermination all that was left of Christian domination in the Holy Land. Thus, when French knights, under the King of Navarre, the Duke of Burgundy, and others, and supported by the emperor, were about to set sail from Lyons for Palestine, the main expedition was diverted by Gregory IX. to Constantinople, the comparatively few who reached their original destination being captured and shut up in prison by the Saracens. Consequently Jerusalem was again lost; Daud, the lord of Kerak, capturing it, and dismantling the fortifications raised by the Christians. Only renewed dissensions in the house of the Ayubites, Saladin's posterity, prolonged the kingdom's miserable existence.

Matters went from bad to worse in Palestine, when the decisive struggle burst forth between the emperor and the pope. The Templars and Venetians took the field against Frederick's vicerent, Thomas of Acerra, in support of the claim to the crown of Jerusalem raised by Alice, queen-dowager of Cyprus, and a granddaughter of Amaury I., to whom they swore fealty in 1243, in opposition to the incontestably better right of Conrad IV., son of Frederick II. and Iolanthe de Brienne. Thereupon the emperor allied himself with Ayub, the sultan of Egypt, while his adversaries won over Al-Kamel, the lord of Damasens. A bitter war now broke out between the barons under the powerful Ibelin of Beirut and the emperor's viceroy, Richard Filangieri. To deliver himself from imprisonment, the latter ultimately surrendered the main imperial stronghold, Tyre, to his adversaries, who soon got to quarrelling among themselves over the spoils. Thus the Christians wore themselves out in suicidal conflicts, while Ayub, in order to defend himself against the Templars and the Damascenes, called in the wild hordes of the Khwarismians. This race, whose domains, which had once extended from the highlands of Iran to the frontiers of Europe, had been wrested from them by the Mongolians, were now barbarously ravaging the lands on the Euphrates and Tigris, and spreading the terror of their name far and wide. Too late the Franks made peace among themselves, and, in alliance with Ishmael of Damascus, advanced against the new foe. At Gaza, in October, 1244, they suffered a terrible defeat. Damascus fell into the hands of the Khwarismians. The Egyptians seized Ascalon, with the greatest part of Palestine, leaving to the Christians only Acre and some strips of coast-land. On the north, Antioch was seriously menaced

by the Turkomans. But still the West remained inactive, and the piteous cries of the sinking Christians for help remained unheard. Innocent IV., precisely at this time, caused a crusade to be preached against Frederick II. of Germany.

Only in France, that for more than a century had borne the brunt of the struggle in the East, and whose nobles were, through a thousand ties, associated with Palestine, was the old zeal for combat still alive. On his sick-bed Louis IX. had vowed to march in person to the rescue of the Holy Land, and on his recovery insisted on fulfilling his pledge, though he was earnestly requested to desist in the interests of France. Not without personal sacrifices did he win over a part of his nobility to make common cause with him. Besides his three brothers, Robert of Artois, Alphonse of Poitou, and Charles of Anjou, there went with him Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, William, Count of Flanders, Hugh of St. Paul, and others, when, in 1248, he set sail from Marseilles and Aigues-Mortes for the East. The winter he spent in Cyprus, where the climate and dissolute living gave rise to malignant maladies, Louis himself escaping narrowly. In the spring of 1249 his army landed in Egypt, where the Sultan Ayub lay prostrated by sickness, and in no condition for war. Damietta fell in the beginning of June. After several months of inactivity, Louis, instead of first occupying Alexandria and Rosetta, and so covering his rear, resumed his march up the Nile towards Cairo. He set out very slowly, although the death of Ayub and the absence of a successor to the throne should have prompted him to energetic action. The camp at Mansurah, therefore, which Al-Afdal had constructed during the fight before Damietta (see p. 280), was found in possession of the Emir Fachreddin, who had summoned all Mussulmans to the holy war, and was prepared for the most desperate resistance. It required months to build a causeway across the branch of the Nile in order to approach the camp. The Christians finally, by using a ford betrayed to them by the Bedouins, captured the camp after hot conflicts. But meanwhile the Egyptian fleet had surrounded and annihilated the Frankish one; so that the army, after vain negotiations to recover Jerusalem in consideration of the evacuation of Damietta, had, in order not to be cut off, to retreat with all speed. But on the second day of its march (August 4, 1250), it was surprised and surrounded by the nimble cavalry of the Mamelukes under the Emir Bibars, and had to surrender. Louis IX., with his brothers, and the flower of French chivalry, fell into the power

of the unbelievers, who spared only the noblest prisoners. According to the biographer of Louis IX., Jean de Joinville, who professes to have been an eye-witness of what he reports, 10,000 were slaughtered for refusing to adopt Mohammedanism. The freedom of the rest Louis was fain to secure by the payment of a heavy ransom, the surrender of all his conquests, and the promise of a peace for ten years. Ultimately the peace was ratified, and the French were at liberty to withdraw. While the majority hastened home, Louis himself remained for nearly a year in Syria. But to no purpose; the preaching of the crusade at home brought no re-enforcements. All that he could effect was to enable the Christians, by strengthening the fortifications of Sidon, Jaffa, and Acre, to hold out a few years longer. All prospects of recovering what was lost vanished in the conclusion of a peace between Egypt and Damascus. In the



FIG. 127. — Seal of the Emperor Baldwin I.

spring of 1254, Louis, at the head of the meagre remnants of his great army, returned to France, whether he was called by the death of the regent, his mother, Blanche of Castile.

For their ability to maintain themselves for more than thirty years in the narrow strip of coast-land the Christians had been indebted solely to the discords of their adversaries. But when these were allayed by the elevation of the Mameluke Bibars to the sultanate, their troubles were renewed. Bibars destroyed Nazareth, demolished the fortress on Mount Taber, Arsuf, and Jaffa, and devastated the fertile district around Tyre. In the north, Antioch fell into his hands. The concurrent collapse of the Latin empire of Constantinople was, moreover, disastrous for the Syrian Christians. The founders of this latter empire had not been able completely to subjugate all the provinces belonging to the Byzantines; even in Epirus the Comneni maintained the supremacy.

Besides, two new states had arisen in the Asiatic provinces, namely, the kingdom, or empire, of Trebizond on the coasts of the Black Sea, under Alexius, a grandson of Andronicus, and the empire of Nice, also under a Comnenus, Theodore Lascaris, which was regarded as a continuation of that of Byzantium. On the Latin empire all sorts

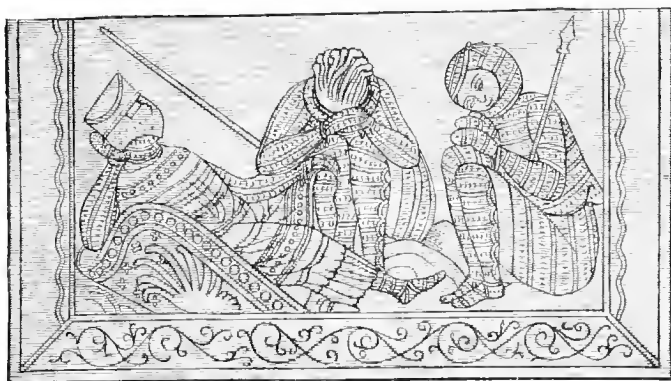


FIG. 128. — Three soldiers guarding the Tomb of Christ. Painting in a prayer-book on parchment of about 1200. Leipsic, University Library.

of misfortunes at once broke in. Baldwin I. (Fig. 127) died miserably, in 1205, as a captive of the wild Bulgarians, against whom he had taken the field. His abler brother, Henry (1205–1216), struggled in vain against the enemies rising up everywhere around him. The succeeding reigns brought no amelioration.



FIG. 129. — Seven soldiers guarding the Tomb of Christ. Painting on parchment, about 1250. (From v. Hefner-Alteneck.)

Thus Michael Palaeologus, the fourth emperor of Nice, who won his throne by deeds of blood and violence, but who proved an able soldier and ruler, could consider reconquering the former capital and its provinces, which, with the help of the Genoese, he was able to recover for his dynasty in 1261. Baldwin II., after suing for ten years in vain for help in the reconquest of his throne, died in 1272.

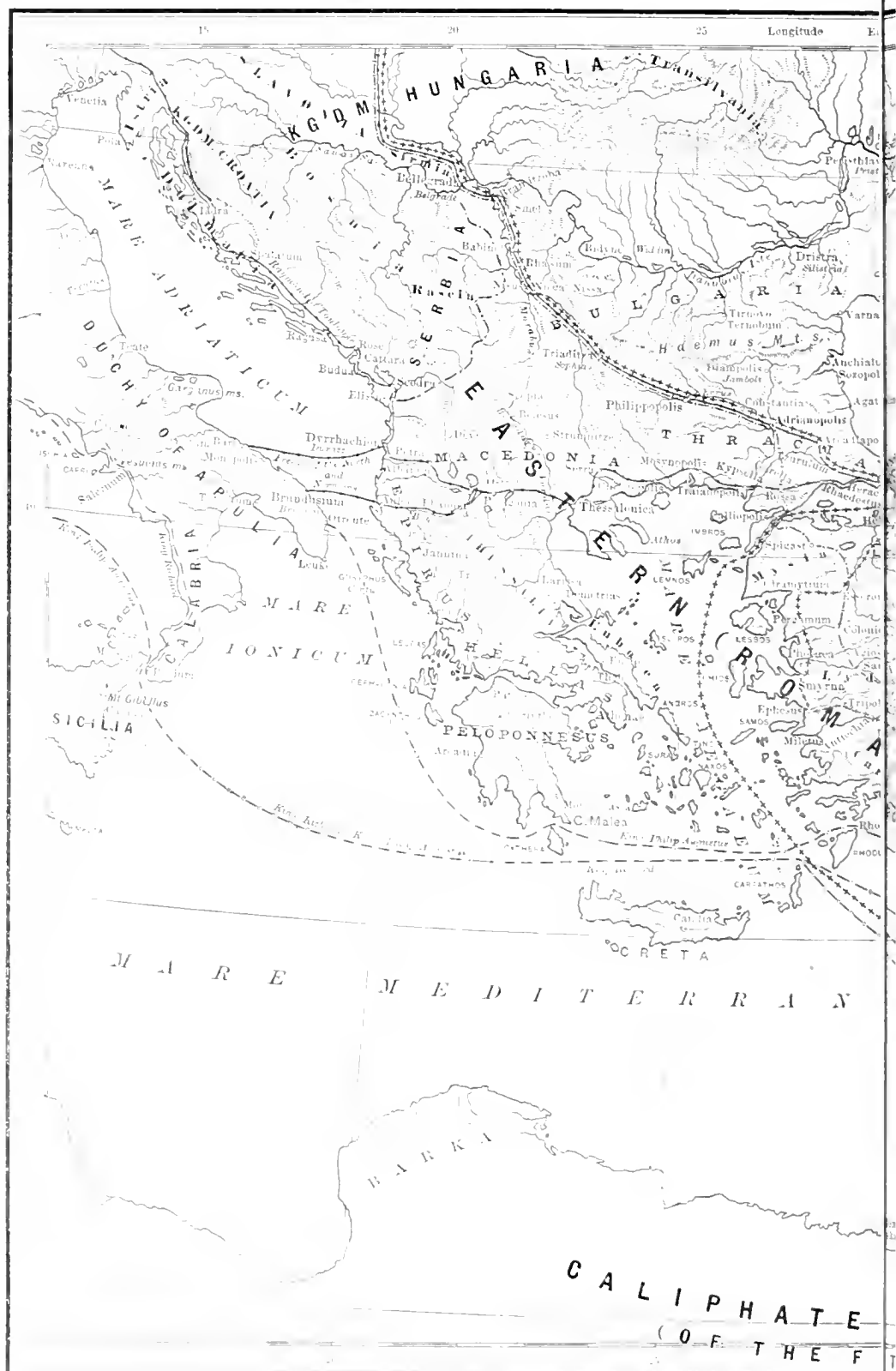
The Frankish states in the middle and south of the Balkan peninsula, which had been dependent on the Latin empire, continued as independent principalities amid internal and external conflicts.

Once more a gleam of hope cheered the sorely afflicted Christians of Palestine (Figs. 128, 129) when in 1270 the chivalrous King Louis IX. of France assumed the cross at St. Denis. Genoese ships carried him and his followers to Cagliari, where he was joined by the Catalonians and Southern French. But the expedition, instead of advancing to Palestine, turned sharply off to Tunis, probably at the instigation of the self-seeking Charles of Anjou, with a view to the protection of his Sicilian kingdom against piracy; though even complete success would have afforded no relief to the Christians of Palestine. A landing was effected without impediment; but nothing ensued, for the Sicilian help did not make its appearance, while sickness prevailed in the army, and the Mussulmans were gathering in great numbers to confront their assailants. The king's son, Tristan, born in Damietta, fell a victim to camp-fever; and, on August 25, Louis himself was carried off by it. When Charles of Anjou ultimately arrived, the war was conducted with success by the new king, Philip, against the Arabs encamped around him, to be, however, suddenly interrupted by peace proposals, which were successfully arranged. Tunis paid Charles the tribute which it had paid to Frederick II. The Crusaders, on their way homeward, lay encamped for a length of time near Trapani in Sicily, with the purpose of turning thence towards Palestine. But, weakened through privations and sickness, disappointed and demoralized, they were ultimately disbanded. The hopes cherished by the grasping Charles of winning the kingdom of Jerusalem were thus disappointed.

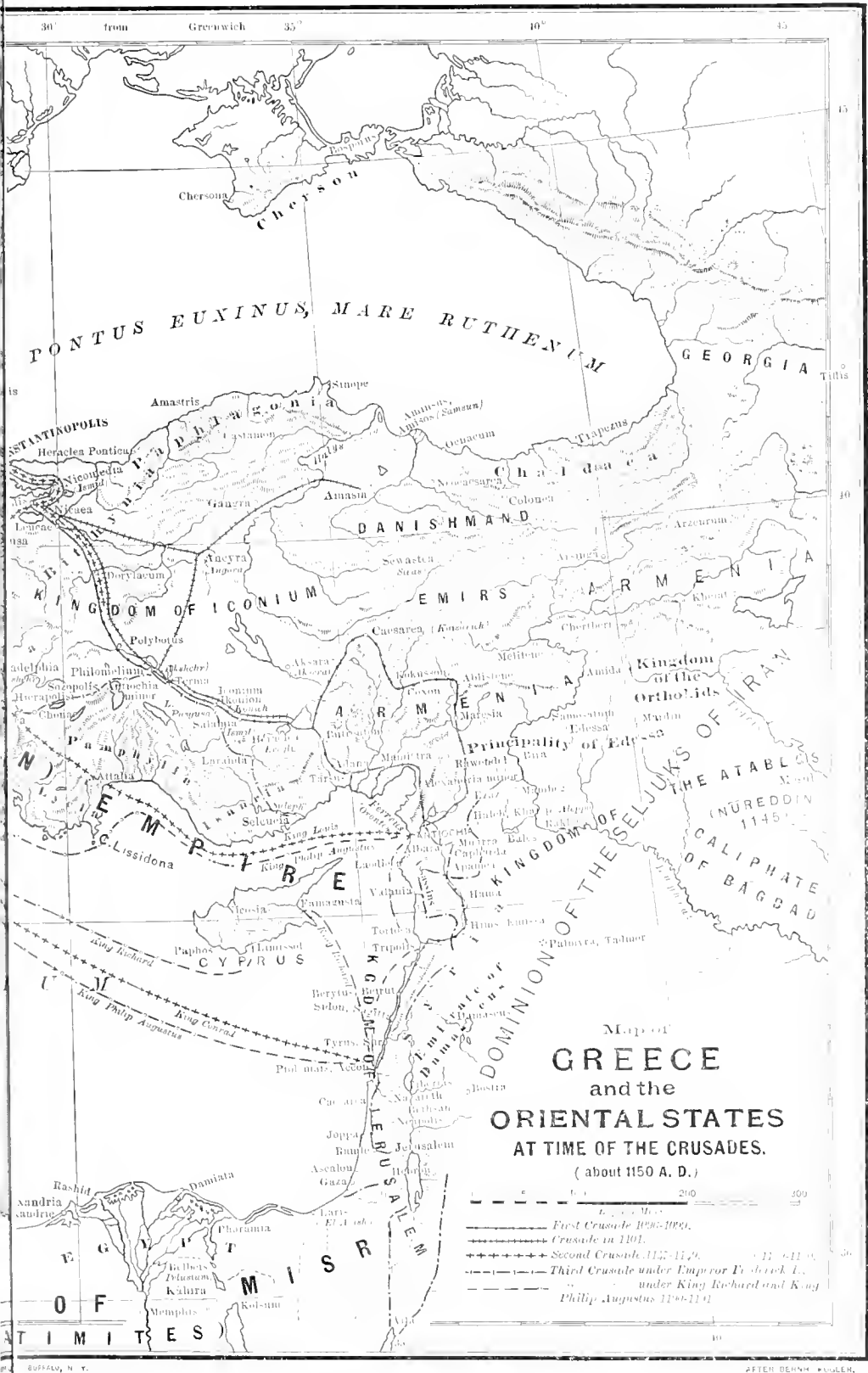
Only Prince Edward of England, the chivalric son of Henry III., who, after the conclusion of the peace of Tunis, sailed to Palestine with the English and a few French pilgrims, and landed in the spring of 1271 at Acre, did anything to afford relief to the Christians, now in sore straits through Bibars's assault on the Syrian Tripoli. In 1272 they made a tolerable armistice with Bibars through their equivocal alliance with the Mongols, who were now also threatened by him. But when, immediately thereafter, the Mongols, through the sultan's machinations, were attacked by the Persians, the situation of the Christians became more precarious than ever. For even Edward, persuaded of the hopelessness of further struggle, returned home. Nor was their position in any degree bettered by







Map. Greece and the Oriental S



States at the time of the Crusades.

AFTER DEHN, KUGLER.



Bibars's death in 1277, especially as his son Malek had to give way to the Mameluke emir, Saifeddin Kelaun, a powerful and warlike prince, who first drove back the Mongols, and then, in 1285, turned against the chronically discordant Christians. This was the beginning of the end of the tragedy. (See PLATE XI.: Map of Greece and the Oriental States at the time of the Crusades.)

In the spring of 1285 Kelaun opened his attack by reducing the powerful fortress of Markab, in the north of Tripoli, held by the Knights of St. John, which Saladin himself had not ventured to assail, and which Bibars had left unmolested. Through separate peaces and armistices the Christians sought to win some respite;



FIG. 130. — Seal of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre.



FIG. 131. — Seal of the Templars.  
(From Vogüé.)



FIG. 132. — Seal of the Hospitallers of St. John.

but the struggle was renewed in the autumn of 1289; and Tripoli was stormed, only a meagre remnant of its defenders escaping in Genoese vessels to Cyprus. The main Christian bulwark in Northern Syria was thus lost. The tidings made, as may be supposed, the deepest impression in Europe; but the crusade preached anew by Nicholas IV. set no army on foot, and with the ten papal galleys that sailed for Syrian waters nothing could be effected. The maritime powers, not only Genoa and Aragon, but also Sicily, where Charles of Anjou tarried, still devising schemes to make his claim to the crown of Jerusalem valid against that of Henry of Cyprus, had long been convinced that the restoration of commercial relations through the cession of the no longer defensible coast-places was the best policy for them. Consequently they made a peace and truce with Kelaun. This was also the only resource for the Syrian Christians; but their notorious faithlessness, already so often

disastrous to them, now suddenly invoked the final catastrophe. A violation of the truce led to Kelaun's attack on Acre, the fall of which was to seal the doom of the Christians. But the heroic spirit of earlier times was not yet dead in their hearts; they would at least perish with honor. And again a short respite was granted them by the death of Kelaun in November, 1290, when he was on the march to Acre. But his son and successor, Malek Al-Ashraf, shortly resumed the offensive, and in April, 1291, commenced the siege of Acre. Notwithstanding the desperate defence made, especially by the knights of the spiritual orders (Figs. 130-132), its powerful works were stormed on June 18, 1291, the strong house of the Templars alone holding out till the next day. On the entry of the victors the remnant of the defenders betook themselves to the ships, and fled to Cyprus, death or slavery awaiting whoever failed to make his escape. The fortifications were demolished, and the city itself levelled to the ground. The news of the fall of this, the last Christian stronghold, filled the other coast cities — Tyre, Sidon, Tortosa, etc. — with dismay; and their inhabitants, hopeless of successful defence, also fled overseas. Only a small number of the Franks, out of regard to the property they had acquired, made up their minds to abide in Palestine as feudatories of the sultan. Exulting in the conclusive victory of Mohammedanism over Christianity, Al-Ashraf made his triumphant entry into Damascus.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

THE Christians, after losing the last vestige of sway in the Holy Land, still insisted on their fancied right to the possession of the holy places, and from time to time devised schemes for vindicating it, without possessing the means for carrying them into effect. For not only were such projects discountenanced by the bitter experiences of the two-hundred years' conflict, but all the conditions of western life were now adverse to the resumption of a war for the faith. By the fall of the Hohenstaufen power the idea of a universal monarchy, which should unify all the nationalities of the West into one grand political confederation, though it had been nearly realized in the Third Crusade, was entirely dissipated; while that of a church universal, with the papacy as the depository and source of all power, secular and temporal, had now come to be discredited in consequence of the abuse made of it by the highest ecclesiastical authority in its own purely worldly interests. In contradistinction to a universal imperial state, and a universal papal church, which had hitherto assumed to control the development of the western world (Fig. 133), the era of the Crusades had introduced influences which awakened the feeling of individuality among the several western peoples, and stimulated their characteristic faculties to progress and energetic action.

Since the days of the great wandering of the nations, the races of the West had not been swayed by such a universally powerful and disturbing movement as that of the Crusades. In antiquity only the expedition of Alexander the Great into Persia can be compared to it in the many-sidedness and comprehensiveness of its effects on civilization. As Alexander had opened to the Hellenes a new world from which there flowed in upon them a stream of new ideas and influences of all kinds, which they not only largely assimilated but improved upon, so the western peoples received an impulse from the Crusades which constituted a point of departure for



FIG. 133. - The imperial dalmatica: in St. Peter's, Rome, of the twelfth century. (Ann. arch.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This dalmatica — a sacred robe, worn by deacons in the church services — is of Byzantine origin, and was made toward the close of the twelfth century. At their coronation the emperors used to assist the pope in the celebration of mass, in the function of deacons, and, according to a well founded tradition, wore at that time the garment here figured. As deacons they would intone the epistle, or even the gospel, and during the holy office would give the pope the chalice and the paten.

The dalmatica is of dark-blue silk, with embroideries in gold, silver, and many other colors. All the scenes refer to Christ glorified. On the back, the Transfiguration; on the right shoulder, the Last Supper (where the host is figured as a small loaf



a new life. And as the intercourse between the Greeks and the Orient was continued far beyond the great Macedonian's brief life, bringing the former into new relations replete with the richest consequences to culture, so there followed on the Crusades an intellectual traffic between Christendom and Mohammedanism, resulting in the evolution of a new civilization, which liberated the nations of Europe from the predominance of Roman culture. The nations, delivered from their previous state of isolation through this intercourse with the Orient and with each other, due to the Crusades, were now able to lay the foundation for a hitherto unknown community of life. And from this community entirely new forms of civilization

of bread, and is embroidered in gold with a red cross), with the words ΛΑΒΕΤΕ ΦΑΓΕΤΕ ('Take, eat'); on the left shoulder, the giving of the wine; on the altar, or table, is a large bowl; the Lord offers a smaller one to St. Peter. The inscription is: ΠΙΕΤΕ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΗΑΝΤΕC ('Drink ye all of it').

In the centre of the front side of the dalmatica we see Jesus Christ enthroned. He sits upon a rainbow, with his feet upon winged flaming circles, set with small eyes. His right hand is raised; in his left he holds the Gospel of St. Matthew, which is open at ch. xxv. 34. The book is in gold and silver, the clasps are of gold, and the letters embroidered in purple. In the nimbus are the words Ο ΩΝ; to the right and left, ΙC ΧC . . . . Η ΑΝΑΤΑCΙC ΚΑΙ Η ΖΩΗ ('Jesus Christ the Resurrection and the Life').

The enthroned Saviour is surrounded by a great halo, the outer rim of which intersects the symbols of the four evangelists, while beyond it are bands of angels and saints. In the upper part we see nine angels, each of the first six carrying a long wand, surmounted by a cross. Between them is a large crucifix, with the crown of thorns, spear, sponge, and the four nails by which, according to the tradition in the Greek church, Christ was nailed to the cross. At each side are the sun and moon, the former red, the latter white. At the right hand of Christ stands the Virgin, in silver mantle and veil, while at his left is St. John Baptist.

The lower band is made up of saints of all orders, with hands and eyes raised toward the Saviour in adoration. They are in two large groups which seem to meet at his feet. Each group is again made up of four lesser groups. The first two at the spectator's right are composed of apostles, marked by the long Roman toga which they wear over their long tunics: with them, as a representative of the prophets, is King David, with a crown on his head. Then follow the holy women of the Old Testament, led by a crowned queen, whose robes are stitched in gold, green, and red silk, while the robes of the others are white. The last group is of the hermits of the Old Covenant. On the left the groups are as follows: In the first we see a pope wearing the casula; a patriarch in surplice, with a tiara on his head; an emperor and an empress, with the Byzantine crown. In the next group is a prelate, an archbishop, a bishop, and an abbot (Greek), the last wearing a mitre. The third group is made up of religious members of the orders of knighthood, one of whom wears a *caputium*, or pointed monk's cap. Then follow three nuns, with Eve, slightly clad, closing the series.

Below this great circle the plants and flowers suggest Paradise as the scene. On the right is the good malefactor, with the cross upon which he was hung; opposite him, Abraham seated upon a throne, holding on his knees the soul of one of the redeemed, possibly Lazarus, while others are gathered near, upon one of whom he lays his hand in benediction. (From Didron.)

arose, not only for the western nations collectively, but also for each individual state.

Rightly to appreciate the nature and method of the great civilizing process consummated during the two centuries of these Holy Wars, we must have special regard to the relation which the western peoples, as the champions of Christianity, bore to the professors of Islamism. It cannot be maintained that an essential and irreconcilable antipathy of a religious nature lay at the bottom of the conflict between the West and East. The Crusades were not undertaken at first as religious wars, but became such only gradually; while up to this time Mohammedans and Christians had shown mutual forbearance, often living peacefully together in the same states in social and economic intercourse. Their later implacable hatred was simply the result of a struggle maintained with growing bitterness for two hundred years, but not the preconceived cause of the struggle. Before this era there had been an intellectual intercourse and exchange between the two religions. But it can hardly be denied that in this field the Christians were the mainly indebted party; although the Arabians in their career of victory had been made acquainted, especially through the medium of the Byzantines, with a great part of the learning of antiquity, which they made their own through their wonderful power of assimilation. Mohammedan culture, although already past the period of its bloom, and nearing its sudden decadence, was still, in the end of the eleventh century, far ahead of that of the West, not only in the domain of material life, but in that of the intellect as well.

With the Crusades there began a period of unbroken contact—hostile indeed, but intimate—of Western Christians with Mohammedans, amplifying indefinitely the exchange which had been earlier in progress. To this day the numerous words of Arabic origin, in the western, but especially in the Romance tongues, testify to the nature of the reciprocal relation of the two groups of races. For as along with the word the thing signified was also borrowed, we can see how much was conferred on the West through its growing familiarity with the East. In particular this is the case in the departments of commerce and navigation, as well as of household equipments and implements of industry, the expressions relating to which show how strongly the little-advanced West was stimulated to imitation by the fanciful ornamentation and elegance of the Orient. Besides, the number of eastern natural products in this period first accli-

mated in the West, or at least more widely disseminated through it, and distinguished by Arabic names, was far from inconsiderable. To this latter class belong sesame, saffron, sugar, maize, rice, etc.; as also fruits, as the pistachio, lemon, apricot, watermelon, etc. Especially valuable were the western acquisitions in the domain of manufactures, as evidenced by such terms as cotton, muslin, damask, silk, satin, and velvet. The imported carpets and embroideries elicited high admiration, and were soon imitated with more or less success. It is in keeping with this that the names of certain colors are to be traced back to an Arabic source, and especially those of the heraldic colors: heraldry being, above all, the branch promoted by the Crusades, under Oriental influences. The borrowed articles of costume are also deserving of notice. Especially characteristic is the fact that the title of the murderous Syrian sect of Assassins was adopted by the French as a generic term for murderers. Probably even more noteworthy and suggestive is it that the rosary, originally a Buddhist device, and borrowed from Farther Asia by the Arabs, as an aid in their devotions, became known to the Christians, and was naturalized by them for the same end during the Crusades. Necessarily these international relations were not limited to the Romano-Germanic peoples and the Arabians. Byzantines and Armenians — as free in taking as in giving — took part in the barter. The latter especially, owing to their contiguity to the French settlements, borrowed from that people quite a number of terms and usages pertaining to feudalism, a system peculiarly congenial to the chivalric spirit of this remarkable people.

Of infinitely more importance than such material interchanges, were the intellectual stimulus and the enlargement of view conferred on the peoples of the West through these Holy Wars. Although a certain degree of intercourse had always existed between the nations of Europe, still, owing to the meagre development of commerce and communication, it had been confined to comparatively small groups, a truly international intercourse in the exchange of habits and ideas being as yet impossible. This, also, was first called into existence by the conjunct expeditions to the East, through which the various European nationalities were brought into close contact with each other, many settling side by side as occupants or armed colonists in Syria. And, in addition to purely warlike expeditions, a system of pilgrimages on a great scale was developed, in which all the western peoples were represented, the participants in which be-

came acquainted not only with the culture of the now opened East, but also with the mixed civilization developed among the Frankish settlers. Through all these agencies the western races came first to know each other at all closely, and so acquired a more common manner of life. This more familiar knowledge of other races, and their modes of thought and action, had the further consequence of making each of them properly conscious of its own national characteristics, and hence of awakening it to a fuller sense of nationality. Concurrently, therefore, with the evolution of lively international intercourse, the national life of the individual peoples became more accentuated and definitely fixed. Consequently that institution in which the community of the Western nations had hitherto found expression, namely, the Roman church, sacrificed much of its former significance and power.

Henceforth an extraordinarily vigorous intellectual traffic developed, not only between Islam and Christendom, but also between the various hitherto alien Western nationalities: so that by the combination of elements, hitherto unmingled, an untold number of new literary forms were called into existence. Illustrative of this is the international character introduced into poetry, showing itself not only in the religious lays of the Crusades and pilgrimages, but especially in the secular poetry of the Crusades, and that as well in the popular rhymes as in the more artistic productions. In all these departments the French, and pre-eminently the Provençals, took a foremost part. If we add to this that French became the international language of the Crusades, we get another clew to its especial prominence in the poetry associated with these enterprises. The whole thought and feeling of the period was so dominated by Crusade influences that even the older material was regarded through a haze of chivalric romance, and was complemented, enlarged, or recast accordingly. In addition to this, a number of Oriental subjects—legends and tales—found their way into Western poetry, in which many of them live to this day as sagas and fables.

Much less was the influence exercised by the Crusades on Western science (Fig. 134). Knowledge in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, and medicine was, no doubt, materially widened through them; but a beginning had been made in this direction before their era, through peaceful contact with the Arabs of Spain, and with those of Sicily and Lower Italy; so that it is not possible to determine with any accuracy how much these branches owe to the

Crusades. Great, on the other hand, was the positive gain made through acquaintance with the Eastern tongues, naturally much more from a practical than from a scientific point of view. Geography, likewise, received wonderful accessions through the opening of the hitherto closed half of the old world to commercial relations. Through this, too, a multitude of barriers to progress — not material only, but spiritual and intellectual as well — were levelled,



FIG. 131. — Scribes and painters. Miniature in a manuscript of the thirteenth century, in Prague. (From Woltmann-Woermann.)

and old prejudices and narrowmindedness supplanted by wider and more liberal views, under the influence of which even the native countries of the Crusaders appeared in quite a new light to them.

From the beginning the church had played an important part in the Crusades, though not so preponderant a one as ecclesiastically colored traditions would suggest. The organization of the great enterprise is, no doubt, to be credited to her. But through her the secular motives which drove the restless population of the Occident

to the Orient were first aroused to full power. However, the more powerful these motives became, so much the more did the church lose its determinative influence on the movement, which assumed more and more of a secular character, and that at length to such a degree that the Crusades ultimately contributed essentially to breaking down the domination of the church over the minds of men, and opening the way for a new and freer development. For the whole movement ended in the abasement of the church, because it had not been successful in overcoming Mohammedanism, whose annihilation had been the chief end of the church militant. Thus the impossibility of validating its claim to the lordship of the world was unanswerably demonstrated. This feeling gave rise to the doubts in regard to the hitherto acknowledged exclusive rights of the Catholic church and its supreme head, which led up to the reaction which was to culminate, a century after the days of Innocent III., in the complete subversion of the structure of the church universal. All the adversaries who had hitherto struggled in vain against the papacy and been held down by it, through a sort of reign of terror, now raised their heads afresh under the inspiring influence of its great disaster. The heretical movement lived again with increased vigor and in forms manifold, giving birth to a multitude of sects, which not only undermined the unity of the church in dogma and worship, but, through an ever sharper and more searching criticism, paved the way for her disruption through the Reformation.

Thus the ban was at length broken in virtue of which the church had controlled the development of the entire West, and subordinated it, even in secular matters, to its own service and ends. Men gradually learned to see the world, which they had hitherto regarded only through a churchly medium, in its proper shape and coloring, and found it accordingly very different from what they had been taught to believe it to be. Instead of renouncing and fleeing it, which asceticism at the time of its greatest power would have compelled men to do, they learned during the Crusades, for the first time, to discover its greatness, beauty, and abounding richness. Hitherto directed to look only towards the spiritual ideal, they now got an insight into the real interests of the world, and began to comprehend their justification, their power, nay, their indispensability, for a sound development. They now discovered that the world had not been created that men might turn away from it in enforced asceticism, but that they might rejoice in it and enjoy it. This perception be-

gan the removal of that antagonism between the heavenly and the earthly, between God and the world, which the mediaeval church had created, and systematically magnified and accentuated, and which had come to be one of the most important foundations of her power, inasmuch as it made her mediatorial offices indispensable. (Cf. Fig. 135.) A feeling of youthfulness inspired the nations of the West, which had, as it were, grown prematurely old. With the new possibilities that they discovered in themselves, and the new tasks to

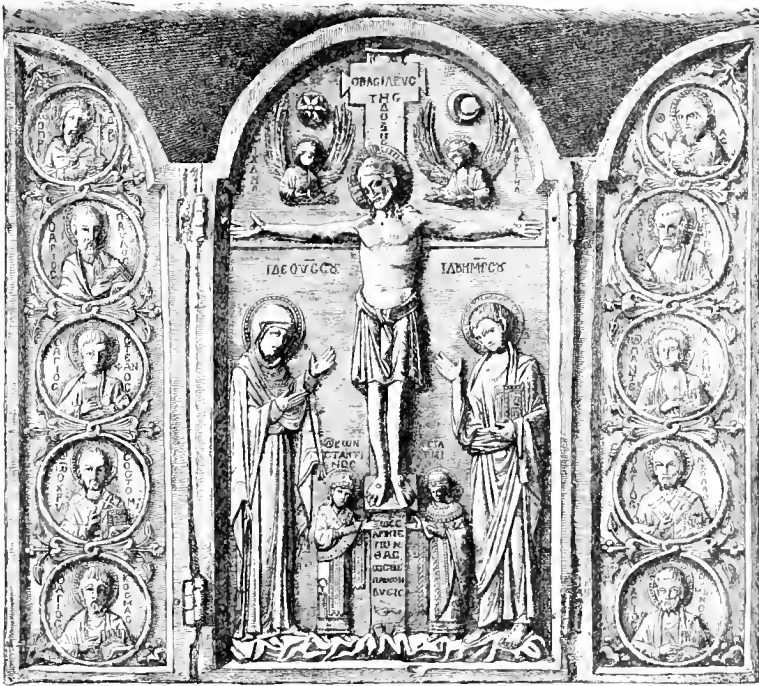


FIG. 135. — Ivory triptych. Late Byzantine work, perhaps of the thirteenth century. Paris, National Library. (Ann. Arch.)

which they saw themselves called, fresh energies began to stir within them. A buoyant spirit of rivalry sprang up, not only between nations, but between individuals of the same nations. For though in the warlike enterprises which the Crusades inspired the nobles had taken the foremost part, and thereby had the greatest gain, the position of the burgesses and peasantry was, nevertheless, materially improved in the course of the long conflict. In the domains of industry and commerce the burgesses attained a position and influence hitherto unprecedented, and in consequence the cities

acquired a political importance they had never known before. In the great popular movement due to the Crusades the great mass of the lower classes took a well-defined part; and perhaps the resultant intellectual liberation conferred a greater blessing on these classes than on any others. As the rigid barriers which separated nations from each other began to give way, so those marking off the different castes within the same land tended gradually to disappear, and a truer social life and a spirit of co-operation began to develop themselves. Even the nobles and clergy, who in virtue of their life and education were marked off from the other classes, and through certain international traits had relations with those of their own classes outside of their native countries, were brought into closer relationship with the national life of their own lands, and were more powerfully than hitherto influenced by it. On this foundation the several peoples began each to develop a national civilization and literature which was no longer a lifeless imitation of that of Rome, through the medium of the church, but a spontaneous national growth, reflecting the various aspects of its time. The new tendency began gradually to find expression in the tongues of the several lands, and to reflect the life, not of certain privileged classes merely, but of the whole people; and by so doing appealed to the hearts of all. An intellectual emancipation asserted itself which in process of time became, as it were, a new birth, a 'Renaissance,' which bore the fairest bloom of modern civilization. In its relation to the church this spirit showed itself in growing enlightenment. If the Crusades had at first stimulated the minds of men to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, their issue produced a proportionally deep reaction, especially inasmuch as what men ultimately found in the holy places, in quest of which they set out with such exaltation of spirit, in no respect corresponded to their high-wrought expectations. Moreover, in the long years of conflict men came to closer acquaintance with professors of faiths other than their own, as with Greeks and Mohammedans, and thereby realized that the pictures which the church had been wont to draw of them were in no respect in keeping with reality. Thus the first step was taken towards a freer conception of religion generally, and doubts arose in regard to the exclusive claims urged by the Roman church for its teaching. Henceforth the Crusades themselves, and the world opened through them, were no longer exclusively regarded from the standpoint of the church. But the Western world learned to appreciate the freshness and beauty which



the East offered it, and sought not only to enjoy it, but also to naturalize it. By the end of the Crusades the Occident appears changed, both inwardly and in its relations to the outward world,—emancipated and ultimately qualified for exercising its new powers with pleasure and success.

For the barriers which the hitherto omnipotent church had raised to restrain the development of the western peoples were now thrown down. New fields of action offered to their heightened



FIG. 136. — Seal of the University of Angers (chief town of Anjou), prominent in the thirteenth century. In the lower division students with lecturers. Size of the original.

energies, while myriads of crusaders, pilgrims, traders, and adventurers carried the culture of Christendom to the Orient, bringing back in exchange the stimulating and suggestive civilization native to the Byzantine empire and the Mohammedan lands. The industries practised in so primitive a fashion were quickened and differentiated in a thousand ways under the entirely new conditions in which they were now pursued, and fields the most multiform laid open to profitable cultivation. The barriers of caste distinction now

being weakened, the various nationalities came into nearer relations, and vied with each other in the cultivation of the arts of peace.

In connection with, and as a consequence of this, the intellectual side of life (Fig. 136) experienced a radical transformation. The ecclesiastical tutelage of learning and science came to a close, and these gradually made themselves independent, and went their own way. The deep impression made by nature with its hitherto unrevealed richness in form and color, the dissipation of prejudices through intercourse with foreign peoples, and familiarity with their tongues and life, and the respect commanded by the high intellectual culture of the Mussulmans, conspired to widen infinitely the intellectual horizon of the Occident. As a consequence the West freed itself from servitude to the literature and language of Rome, and began by the use of the native tongues for literary purposes to widen the influence of literature on the people. In this period, then, we find the beginning of that process which was to overcome mediaevalism by a new era and a new civilization.

BOOK III.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF WEST-  
ERN EUROPE THROUGH THE  
DECLINE OF THE PAPACY  
AND THE EMPIRE.

(A.D. 1272-1328.)



# THE TRANSFORMATION OF WEST-ERN EUROPE THROUGH THE DECLINE OF THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE.

(A.D. 1272-1328.)

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE HISTORICAL SOURCES.

THE far-reaching change which took place in church, state, and society at the end of the thirteenth century left its impress on historiography. Whereas in the eleventh and twelfth century men of birth and high official position not infrequently wrote the history of the world in excellent compendiums, we are dependent in the following centuries mostly on the works of the lower classes of society. Among these the mendicant orders, especially the Minorites, play an important rôle. The laity of the towns also fill a prominent place in the historical literature of the time. As the empire declines, the interest which large circles had formerly taken in its history dies out. Historical literature henceforth becomes largely localized, and a lower stratum of the people is interested in it. This, of course, necessitated the use of the German tongue, not to speak of local dialects. Some authors reached a larger circle of readers by using rhyme and verse for their productions. They dwelt with pleasure on the past of their race, knowing how it appealed to their readers. Thus legends crept more plentifully into the historical tradition: in fact, they were intentionally fostered and invented. This confused the origin of races, stems, or families. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of the narrative sources of this period, and their ample illustration of the life of the times, they nevertheless contain much less reliable material than the older

annals and chronicles. But the great mass of documents of all sorts fully makes up for this dearth. In the earlier period these consisted of letters, memoirs, and the like, which are often mere formularies gathered with a view to their style for the benefit of officials. But with every decade the number of original charters, acts, and papers increases. The diplomatic relations between the various states also belong to this category.

Among the historians as such, Hermann, the abbot of the Bavarian monastery of Niederaltaich, fills a prominent place. The annals which bear his name, and extend from 1137 to 1273, are contemporary from 1256 on. They contain valuable references to the empire and Bavaria, as well as to Austria and Bohemia. The work is devoid of a higher political outlook. The author's view of the conflict between the empire and the papacy is bounded by the narrow limitations of monkish prejudice. Eberhard, the archdeacon of Ratisbon, wrote a continuation of Hermann's history, embracing the period from 1273 to 1305. But the most important work of the Bavarian historians of that day is the "Chronicle of the Princes" (*Chronicon de gestis principum*). Its author was an unknown monk of the monastery of Fürstenfeld. Without adhering strictly to chronological order, this chronicle tells the history of Germany from the advent of Rudolf of Hapsburg to the victory of Louis the Bavarian in 1326. The narrative is clear and concise. It shows an unusual mastery of the rich material, with a natural leaning toward the native house of Wittelsbach. Austria's central position in German affairs also led to a flourishing period in its historical literature. Here we have records from the houses of the Friars Preachers of Vienna, Klosternenburg, Holy Cross, and Zwettl. In Styria, Ottocar wrote his rhymed chronicle. He had evidently seen much of the world, and known many great personages. The first part of his work (to 1291) seems to have been written soon after Styria became a possession of the Hapsburgs. The succeeding parts Ottocar at first composed independently of one another. In the beginning of the fourteenth century he revised them, and made a connected narrative of them. The manner of its origin consequently accounts for the unequal merit of the different parts of Ottocar's chronicle.

In the west of Germany, Strasburg was particularly prominent as a centre of historical literature. It exhibits the strongest evidence of the influence which the town element was beginning to have on historical tradition. The victory of the citizens over their

enemy, Bishop Walter of Geroldseck, in 1262, was very significant in this respect. Soon afterwards an unknown citizen wrote a history of the war, the *Bellum Waltherianum*. This war also figures in annals which the Strasburger Ellenhard (died in 1304) wrote in Latin, covering the period 1208–1297. His work had a great influence on the development of historical literature in his native city. It gave rise, among others, to the “History of the Roman Kings Rudolf and Albert” (*Gesta Rudolphi et Alberti regum Romanorum*). The episcopal notary, Gottfried von Ensmingen, wrote the first part of it, which was continued by an unknown author. Both are partial to the house of Hapsburg, without resorting, however, to falsification of facts. The annals of Colmar are of a different nature. Well-informed and trained monks, beginning with material from the parent monastery of Basel, brought them down to 1305.

The historical literature of the other German divisions is less important. In Lower Saxony the Minorites of the monastery of Lübeck composed annals reaching from 1264 to 1334. The geographical horizon of this work is remarkable, but it probably rests on older lost records. The most valuable history of Upper Saxony and Thuringia is the chronicle of the monastery of St. Peter at Erfurt (*Chronicon Sampetrinum Erfortense*). Its oldest parts extend to 1338, the later ones to 1355. At that time the monks of Reinhardtsbrunn in Thuringia cultivated historiography with particular diligence. Their chronicle contains not only an account of the estates of the monastery, based on its charters, but also the contemporary history of the landgraves of Thuringia of the house of Wettin.

The elevation of the royal house of Luxemburg to the throne of Bohemia, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, on the extinction of the dynasty of Premysl, finally gave an impetus to Bohemian historical literature. The chronicle of the Cistercian monastery of Königsaal contains especially valuable references to the history of the empire. Its second abbot, a Thuringian named Otto, began a monastic chronicle, starting with the life of its royal founder, King Wenceslaus II., 1278–1305. His successor, Peter von Zittau, who was admirably fitted for the task by his intimacy with the new house, continued the chronicle. He occasionally cites, for instance, intelligence which the emperor, Henry VII., himself had communicated to him. The chronicle is divided into three parts. The first part, which is contemporary, and reaches to 1316, is less an historical narrative than a collection of materials,

The best sources for the history of Henry VII. are the works of Italian writers. The account of the king's journey to Rome by the Dominican Nicholas, bishop of Butrinto, is of especial interest. For its author, a Frenchman by birth, was not only intimate with the king, but also acted as diplomatic agent and mediator between him and the papal court. This explains the author's one-sided point of view, and his skillful treatment of the controversy between church and state. The Paduan Albertinus Mussatus took the papal or Guelfic side in his history of Henry's Italian expedition, the *Historia Augusta*. Although a peculiar jumble of prose and poetry, his account is trustworthy in the main. He, too, had been at court on diplomatic business, and used notes made at the time to revise his work, at latest before the end of 1314, and after Henry's death. Furthermore Albertinus wrote twelve books of Italian history, which he undertook during the period from 1313 to 1329. Finally he composed a narrative of the Roman expedition of Louis the Bavarian. Although written in a decidedly anti-German spirit, it still contains interesting passages. Invaluable for the history of Henry's Italian undertaking are the remains of the imperial archives, which he took with him, as was the custom, and which were in great part destroyed or scattered during the unfortunate circumstances which attended his death. They have been discovered in Turin and Pisa, and enable us to rectify and supplement the notices of the historians.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GERMAN STATE THROUGH THE FAMILY POLICY OF ITS EMPERORS.

(A.D. 1272-1327.)

THE fall of the Hohenstaufen dynasty had made a German universal empire impossible. More than that, even a national monarchy, such as the French or English, could not be attained. The absence of Frederick II. in Italy, the unmolested independent rule of the German princes, and the conflict about the succession which filled the Great Interregnum, all contributed to hasten the change in the German constitution which had begun much earlier. The most marked feature of this change lay in the conversion of the semi-hereditary kingdom into an elective one. The custom of selecting, from those princes and magnates who were the principals at a royal election, a committee, whose resolutions were generally accepted without demur, had in time given the tribal dukes a certain privilege as regards the royal election. Those among them who held one of the high offices of the empire had a particular claim to this privilege. According to the law-book called the "Sachsenspiegel" (Fig. 137) composed between 1224 and 1235, the three spiritual electors were the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves. The first temporal vote was cast by the lord high steward, the Count Palatine of the Rhine; the second by the marshal, the Duke of Saxony; and the third by the Margrave of Brandenburg, as the lord high chamberlain. The King of Bohemia, although the arch-seneschal, was to have no vote because he was not a German.

Thus the old franchise of the princes had fallen into abeyance. The newly established College of Electors was brought into play, after the Great Interregnum, to select a single head of the state for the restoration of the German realm.

The necessity of such a step dawned first upon the papacy; for the French royal house soon adopted an energetic policy to acquire the power once wielded by the Hohenstaufens. After the death of



FIG. 137. Illustration from the oldest manuscript of the "Sachsenspiegel." University Library of Heidelberg. The upper third of the picture represents a feudal court. The remaining parts have reference to the vassal's military duty.

Richard of Cornwall, Philip III. at once tried to add the German kingly crown and the Roman imperial one to that of his own kingdom. But that combination threatened the papacy more than the union of Germany and Sicily had done. To avert it the help of Germany was necessary. Thus, even in Rome, a desire arose to restore the German monarchy as against French supremacy. The overtures of Pope Gregory X. (1271-1276) met with favor in Germany. In 1273 the archbishop of Mayence, Werner of Eppenstein, and the Rhine count palatine, Duke Louis of Bavaria, joined forces to restore a centralized monarchy. They won over the archbishops Henry II. of Treves and Engelbert II. of Cologne. The divisions among the princes, however, made another double election likely. Under these circumstances the mighty League of the Rhine cities (see p. 220) took the important step of reaffirming that it would recognize only such a king as had the unanimous support of the electors.

The first of the candidates was Ottocar II. of Bohemia (1253-1278). He had acquired Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola during the Interregnum, and had thus become the mightiest prince of the empire. But he was too powerful for the electors and the papacy. The same objection applied to the count palatine of the Rhine, Duke Louis of Bavaria. At this juncture Frederick III. of Hohenzollern, Burggrave of Nuremberg, directed attention to his brother-in-law, Count Rudolf of Hapsburg. Rudolf belonged to an old and respected Swabian house, which, starting from its ancestral possessions between the rivers Aar and Reuss, had acquired many lands, especially the landgraviate of Alsace; he was fifty years old, moderate and intelligent. He had supported the Hohenstaufen power, but at its fall had become reconciled to the victorious party. Rich enough to wear the crown with dignity, he was not powerful enough to be dangerous. As the father of several daughters, he could hold out alliances with the royal house to the unwilling princes as a price for their consent. Through the energetic action of Frederick, Rudolf (Fig. 138) succeeded in winning the German crown. On September 29, 1273, he was elected king at Frankfort. To make the election unanimous, the dissenting vote of the Bohemian king was passed over in favor of the Duke of Bavaria.

The Great Interregnum was ended. But the old empire was by no means restored. In fact, the chief merit of Rudolf of Hapsburg (1273-1291) lies in his appreciation of the changed condition of

affairs. In view of this he unconditionally recognized the new order, and adopted a sober policy that eschewed all unattainable ends. Wise self-control and energetic concentration of forces were imperative to build up the foundations of the new state. Accordingly Rudolf unreservedly confirmed the possessions of the church in Italy, regardless of the controvertible nature of its legal title. A



FIG. 138. — Seal of Emperor Rudolf I. Original size. Obverse: † : RVDOLFVS : DEI : GRACIA : ROMANORVM : REX : SEMPER : AVGVSTVS : (Berlin.)

personal meeting with Gregory X. at Lausanne in 1275 strengthened these friendly relations, which proved the more important, as the breach with Ottocar II. threatened to lead to open war.

From the first the king of Bohemia had withheld his vote from Rudolf. As his opposition had no effect, he declared his adherence to the king, but only on the condition of his confirming to Ottocar the Austrian lands which he had occupied. Such a confirmation would have meant nothing less for Rudolf than the surrender of all his royal rights. Besides, the German king had long had another

more immediate interest in the Austrian lands. He was bent on raising his house to the ranks of the mightiest territorial princes of the realm. Such a position would enable it, even without the royal crown, to exercise a decisive influence on the course of imperial politics. The possibility of obtaining such a position lay only in the acquisition of the illegally held lands of Ottocar in the southeast. As the latter disregarded the repeated demands of the king to surrender the contested districts, Rudolf outlawed him. The church, which had formerly stood by Ottocar, excommunicated him in 1276. Immediately Carinthia and Styria arose against him under Counts Albert of Görz and Meinhard of Tyrol. In 1276 Rudolf marched directly on Vienna. Separated by the Danube from Rudolf, Ottocar could not relieve the valiant city, which finally capitulated on condition of the confirmation of its rights and privileges. Rudolf now made a feint of marching to the north side of the Danube, with a view to fighting a pitched battle. Thereupon Ottocar yielded, and quickly made peace. He gave up Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola on November 21, 1276, and took the oath of fidelity to his royal suzerain.

But he did not mean to keep his promise, and delayed to break it only until a favorable turn of affairs, which occurred surprisingly soon. The strict and energetic, though moderate rule of Rudolf was far from pleasing the princes, who began to fear for their positions. His easy victory terrified the electors. Not only the Silesian dukes (Fig. 140) and the margrave Otto of Brandenburg, but also Duke Albert II. of Saxony, Rudolf's son-in-law, and the landgrave of Thuringia, as well as the archbishops of Cologne and Mayence, joined in opposition. They hoped to win even the duke of Bavaria for their cause. A strong party in Vienna, headed by the influential mayor, Paltram, longed for the return of the milder rule of the Bohemian king. Thus Rudolf's position was by no means favorable when the war broke out in the summer of 1278. Ottocar advanced along the river March to the Danube. Rudolf promptly led his troops from Vienna to meet the Bohemian army. On the broad plains of the March (the 'Marchfeld') Ottocar had drawn up in the hope of using his cavalry to the best advantage. On August 26, 1278, the decisive battle ensued at Dürnkrut, which ended in the defeat of the Bohemians and the death of their king. Rudolf occupied Moravia as a pledge for the expenses of the war, and advanced toward Bohemia. There a party of the

nobility under Otto of Brandenburg (Fig. 139), who had been appointed regent to Ottocar's son, Wenceslaus II., organized resistance. Another party, which desired the queen-mother, Kunigunde, as regent, wished for a speedy return of peace. Rudolf skilfully handled the rivalry of the parties. As a price for immediate peace, he confirmed Otto in his regency for the next five years. He did this the more willingly because the engagement of the young king with his daughter Guta, and of Wenceslaus's sister with his son Rudolf, opened brilliant prospects for the reversion of the rich Bohemian inheritance. Rudolf (Fig. 141) made over the adminis-



FIG. 139. Seal of Margrave Otto IV. ('with the arrow') of Brandenburg. Died 1309. Five-sixths of its original size. (Berlin.)

tration of Austria, Styria, and Carniola to his oldest son, Albert. Meinhard of Tyrol was rewarded for his services by the gift of Carinthia. This new disposition took root so soon, and was so generally looked upon as justified and natural, that as early as 1282 the electors gave their consent to the regular enfeoffment of Albert with Austria, Styria, Carniola, and the mark of Windisch. The power of the house of Hapsburg was founded.

Although the rule of Rudolf had thus grown stronger, its essence scarcely changed. He remained a mediator, with this difference, that he could now lay a much greater weight in the scale of his media-

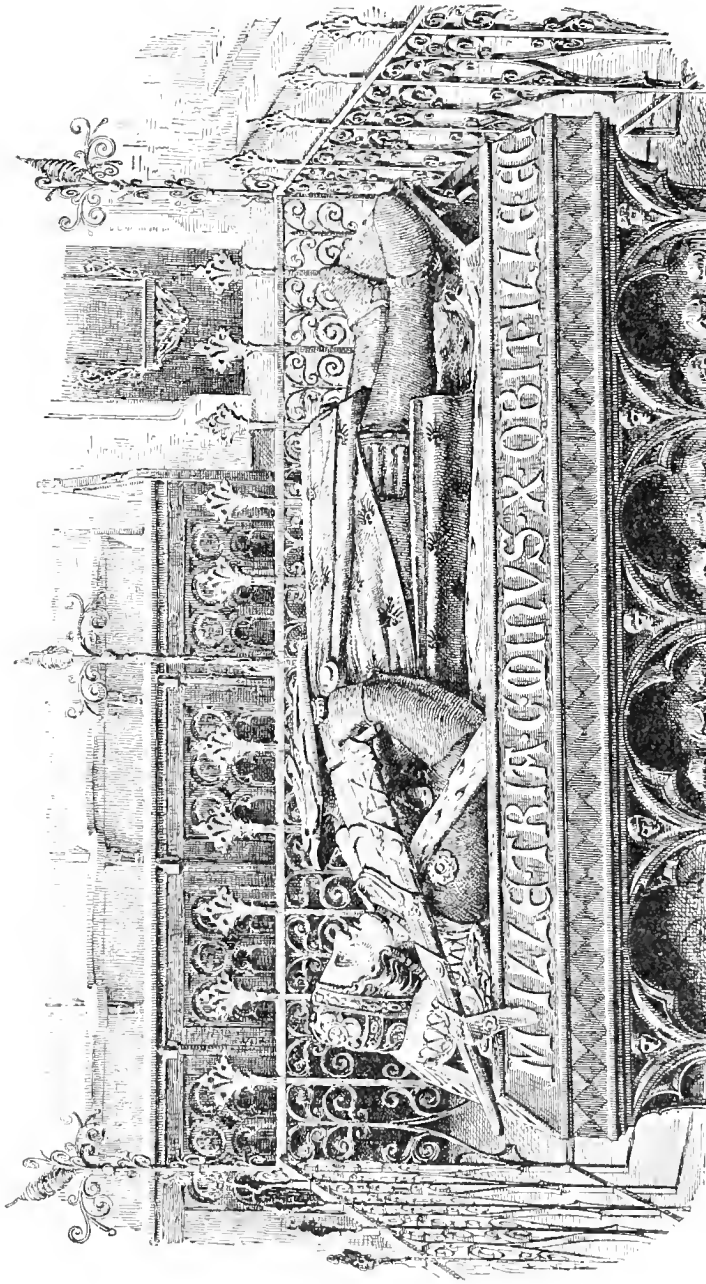


FIG. 140. — Tomb of Duke Henry IV. of Breslau, died 1290. Painted clay figure on a sandstone tomb in the Church of the Holy Cross at Breslau. One of the most beautiful monuments of German mediæval art.

tion. Notwithstanding, his successes varied greatly. Not even the king's peace (*Landfrieden*), which was to restrain feudal turbulence, was acknowledged throughout his kingdom. The merciless rigor with which Rudolf combated the robber-knights, especially on the Rhine, indeed won him the sympathy of the thankful cities. But it resulted in only temporary and local benefit. His attempt at pacification did not even meet with the approval of all the princes. Archbishop Siegfried of Cologne, who was severely punished in 1282 for disloyal conduct, renewed his opposition toward the end of the king's reign. There was danger that a conflict of Rudolf with the ecclesiastical princes would draw the other disaffected elements into their camp. Consequently it was to the king's advantage that Siegfried should become involved, just about this time, in a petty war over the Brabant succession, the unlucky outcome of which reduced the archbishop to harmless inactivity. However, the ill-success of his party did not humble him, while Rudolf sought in vain to make



FIG. 141. — Silver coin of Rudolf of Hapsburg. Original size. Obverse: † RVDOLPH ROM · REX · Reverse: † VRBS · AQVENSIS · VINCE (Aix-la-Chapelle). (Berlin.)

effective the royal power over Swabia against Count Eberhard of Württemberg. Also his attempt to secure the reversion of the duchy of Burgundy at the death of Duke Rudolf, whose sister he married in his old age, proved a failure.

But these defeats were of minor significance compared with the unsatisfactory internal condition of the kingdom. The feuds continued, especially in the northern and middle districts. At that time various impostors made their appearance, who claimed to be the returning emperor Frederick II.; for, according to one account, he was only in hiding. Attempts of this sort soon failed in Lübeck and Alsace. Along the Rhine, especially about Wetzlar, Dietrich Holzschuh for many years kept the people in suspense. With unusual skill and luck he played his part. Siegfried of Cologne tried to aggravate Rudolf's dilemma by favoring the mad enterprise. Finally Holzschuh was taken and burned, in 1286, while his misguided followers were severely punished. The whole agitation



proved at any rate that the Hapsburg rule had not taken root in the nation at large.

For Rudolf naturally strove to make his crown hereditary, and his oldest son, Albert, his successor, after the two younger ones had died. But Albert was especially objectionable to the German princes. His almost despotic rule in Austria, which was beneficial, to be sure, made them dread a like rule from him as king. In consequence Rudolf experienced a decided refusal at the hands of the princes, when, in the spring of 1291, he proposed the candidacy of his son at a diet in Frankfurt. When he died (Fig. 142), at Spire, on July 15 following, a violent electoral contest broke out among the selfish princes, who entirely threw to the winds every national issue.

Only the count palatine of the Rhine was favorable to the Hapsburg succession. The spiritual electors assumed the decision of the contest. At the instigation of the archbishop of Mayence, Gerhard II. of Eppenstein, they gave the crown to a Rhenish count, Adolphus of Nassau, who had scarcely been heard of till then. He



FIG. 142. — Monumental slab of Emperor Rudolf I. In the Cathedral of Spire.

bought his crown by conferring privileges and lands on the spiritual electors. In May, 1292, the election took place. Albert of Austria gave up all opposition, and took the oath of allegiance to Adolphus. However, his antagonism was not quenched. It was to break forth the sooner because of the unexpected turn the new king gave his policy. Its effect forced his electors to seek help from Albert. For with Adolphus of Nassau (1292-1297) the very element, the lower nobility, which had always been the greatest enemy of the Rhenish spiritual princes, came to the throne. Among this class Adolphus sought his chief support, and soon took steps to become independent. The means which he used to strengthen his house stamped him as a royal robber-knight. He won over the house of Wittelsbach as a protection against the Hapsburgs. Meanwhile he got the notorious Thuringian landgrave, Albert the Degenerate, to give up his claims on the lands of the extinct line of the margraves of Meissen, which the latter had tried to make good in war with his own sons, Frederick and Diezmann. Adolphus actually secured the margraviate, and then tried to use the landgrave's enmity towards his sons to extend his power by obtaining a promise of succession in Thuringia. Thereupon Frederick and Diezmann took up arms. A frightful war wasted Thuringia, during which Adolphus stained his royal name most shamefully by enlisting the very robber-knights whom his predecessor had so energetically persecuted. Everybody thought a change of king necessary. Now it was the turn of Albert of Austria. Adolphus could not be dethroned without his help, nor was any other successor to be thought of under the circumstances. Albert gave his aid the more readily because the open and covert acts of the king's hostility had constantly endangered and provoked him. And so most of the princes joined Albert's standard. They conferred at the coronation of the young Bohemian king at Prague, in 1297, and again in the beginning of the next year in Vienna. Finally the archbishop of Mayence assented to Albert's candidacy, and undertook the management of affairs in virtue of his privileged position. He summoned Adolphus and Albert to Frankfort, so that the electors might investigate and settle their quarrel. The object of this summons was evident to Adolphus, who resolved to defend his crown by force of arms.

On his way to Frankfort, in the spring of 1298, Albert found his road barred by the king. Consequently the electors issued summons for a new diet in Mayence. Albert's appearance put an end

to the intrigue which Gerhard of Mayence had renewed against him. Archbishop Boemund I. of Treves was absent. The three other electors sent representatives, and only the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg were present in person. Nevertheless, this small body thought itself competent to depose Adolphus, on account of his enmity to the church and clergy, his violation of the rights of the princes, and the breach of the king's peace. Guilty as the king was, his guilt, after all, lay in the fact that he had dared to free himself from the control of the princes who had chosen him as their tool. If the kingdom was to be ruled according to this doctrine, it would change from a monarchy to an aristocratic republic. After Adolphus's deposition Albert was elected king. Meanwhile the deposed king had approached, in order to prevent the withdrawal of his opponent. In spite of inferior numbers, he attacked the anti-king at Göllheim, on July 2, 1298, and was left dead on the field.

As yet, however, Albert was not master of the situation. Gerhard of Mayence still opposed him. Not until the Austrian had granted all his demands did he desist, when Albert was again elected king at Frankfort. In August, 1298, he was crowned at Aix, but not until he had paid the other two spiritual princes a like price for their support. To be sure, he did not intend to fulfil his obligations. His circumspection and energy in counteracting the opposition of the princes brought him promising successes, which made the centralization of power in the royal hands likely. His final failure was due in part to the interested family policy which hampered his activity, and in part to the lack of a lively, helpful national feeling in Germany.

In Rome also the pope thought it wise to be on his guard against the energetic rule of the king. On vain pretexts Boniface VIII. (1295-1303) denied him recognition, on the ground that, through his marriage with a half-sister of the unfortunate Conradin, he was related to the accursed brood of the Hohenstaufens. Therefore Albert sought an alliance with Philip IV. of France, who was just then involved in a conflict with the pope. The two kings met at Strasburg, and later at Vaucouleurs, in Lorraine. They agreed upon a marriage between Albert's son Rudolf and Philip's daughter Beatrice. She was to receive Burgundy, which was to be made a kingdom. Disappointed in their expectations, the Rhenish electors made a league with Wenceslaus II. of Bohemia against the king. Relying on support from the papacy, they planned the depo-

sition of the king, and made a formal alliance against him in 1300 at Heimbach. But the Hapsburg proved too powerful a foe. It was a propitious step for the future that Albert should revert to the policy of the Salian and Hohenstaufen rulers, with which Frederick II. had broken, and enlist the German cities in his cause. He removed the restrictions which prevented the free migration of the country-folk to the towns. Furthermore, he abrogated all the tolls which the Rhenish princes had independently erected for the last decades. Thus he cut off the chief resources of his enemies. The king likewise leagued himself with the lower nobility of the Rhine districts, who hoped to win back their privileges which the princes had curtailed. Albert's success was complete. When he appeared in the field, in 1301, the Count Palatine Rupert (Ruprecht), Gerhard of Mayence, Wichbold of Cologne, and Dietrich of Treves had to submit to him.

Their defeat involved that of the allied Roman court. Should the king adopt the anti-hierarchical measures of Philip IV., the papacy would suffer a grave defeat. To avoid that, Boniface VIII. yielded, and tried to draw Albert to his side away from his French alliance. The king entered upon the project the more willingly because his national victory did not suit his despotic family policy, for which he needed the support of the pope. Consequently he did not shrink from making the pope far-reaching, though formal concessions. To reach his ends, he put on the guise of humility. For his promise in 1303 to become St. Peter's vassal, and to protect the pope from his enemies, was mere words. The clause conditioning the succession of one of his sons to the German throne upon the consent of the pope had little significance, as it seemed impossible at that time that any of them should be elected king. Besides, the papal court never made practical use of this compact. However, it was a great gain for Boniface to have broken the German-French alliance. The catastrophe of the papacy which was to follow worked an entire change in all these relations.

The character of Albert's rule was indeed essentially changed by his measures. He ceased to follow his former high aspirations, and restricted himself to aggrandizing the power of his house. But his policy was successful in no instance. The means he used lessened his repute, and made him almost undeservedly disliked. He tried in vain to get the reversion of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland after the extinction of the native line of counts. He failed also to

profit by the family quarrels of the Thuringian landgraves in his attempt to attach Meissen and Thuringia to his house. In Bohemia he was likewise unsuccessful. In 1306 Wenceslaus III., the last of the house of Premysl, had been assassinated. Albert thought he could pave his son Rudolf's way to the Bohemian throne by his marriage with Elizabeth, the queen-mother. But Rudolf had to give way to the national party. At its head stood Duke Henry of Carinthia, the husband of Anna, Wenceslaus III.'s sister. In no point, however, did ill success condemn Albert's policy more than in his relations to the Swiss, who were then laying the foundation of their confederacy. Nevertheless, he was in reality free from that stain which the impressions created by later events, and the false light of partial legends, have fixed upon his character.

The three forest cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden had, in the first place, a different status, both socially and politically. For only in Schwyz the inhabitants consisted, on the whole, of free peasants. But even here there were unfree men, especially on the estates of the religious houses of Einsiedeln, Engelberg, and others. In Unterwalden the unfree predominated over the free. In Uri, on the other hand, there was a limited number of noble land-owners whose tenants were in great part just as subject as those on the estates of some of the churches. Of old the three cantons had been under the administration partly of Zurich, partly of Aargau, and had been amenable to the counts set over those cities. Now, as the jurisdiction of both *gaue*, or counties, had, in course of time, fallen to the Hapsburgs, they had early come into contact with these districts. Besides, they acquired the temporal administration of many churches and monasteries which had estates in the cantons, especially in Schwyz; and their steward first gained recognition in that canton, then gradually in the other two. It was thoroughly in keeping with the spirit of territorial lordship that the Hapsburg stewards should try to change their protectorate into actual sovereignty. But this development met a check when King Henry, while regent for the emperor Frederick II. in Germany, took Uri into the immediate protection of the German kingdom in 1231. The inhabitants of Schwyz also aimed at this privileged position. Frederick II. granted it to them in return for their gallant services at the battle of Faenza in 1240. During the great struggle between the empire and papacy, when the former ceased to exercise authority, Uri and Schwyz became free in fact. Still, their connection with

the house of Hapsburg continued, only that its character changed somewhat. To preserve the efficiency of the courts during the Interregnum, Uri placed itself under the protection of the counts of Hapsburg through the free resolution of the popular assembly. Although the judge whom the Swiss themselves elected declared right in the name of the royal steward, the country was thought to belong to the Hapsburgs in consequence of the ambiguous relations which the double administration caused, and because King Rudolf did not expressly confirm its old charter. When Albert of Austria tried to change the nominal lordship of his house over the Swiss cantons to an actual one, the conflict first broke out. As a result, the three forest cantons made an alliance, on August 1, 1291, for mutual defence. A defensive league for three years between Schwyz, Uri, and Zurich soon followed, and turned openly against Albert. His measures, however, crossed their plans, and it appears that Schwyz, in particular, had to submit to his claims of overlordship. The forest cantons were on the road to be subjected, although naturally they were protected by Adolphus, who confirmed their charters of liberty. The battle of Gölleheim restored the old condition of affairs. Thereafter the conflicts between Albert and the free peasant communities grew more frequent, though they never took the shape in which the later highly colored tradition presents them. For even if Albert did protect the monasteries against the attacks of the peasants, and forced Schwyz into submission, he does not seem to have succeeded in Uri in this respect. Indeed, no bailiffs of the Hapsburgs can be found in the three cantons. They are the creation of the legendary history of Swiss independence. In short, during Albert's lifetime there was no general conflict at all. There is no historical trace of the daring act of liberation which Swiss legends relate to have taken place on New Year's night, 1309, by the destruction of the castle and the expulsion of the bailiffs. Without the active interference of the cantons, the mere death of Albert secured their freedom.

On May 1, 1308, King Albert was assassinated by his nephew, John of Swabia, whose ultimate motives are not clear. The story goes that John had been incited by the unlawful detention of his inheritance at the hands of the king. This ill-feeling seems to have been fed by others. The cold, insulting tone with which the king was believed to have finally dismissed the demands of the hot-headed and morose youth to be raised to the rank of prince, added fuel to

the inciting speeches of his companions. It was this which led to the assassination of the king. All turned in horror from the murderer.

The Swiss alone benefited directly by Albert's death, which freed them from an oppressive sovereign. On June 3, 1309, they were secured from like dangers by King Henry VII., who adopted an anti-Hapsburg policy. He confirmed the charters of Frederick II. and Adolphus of Nassau for Uri and Schwyz. Unterwalden, though not specifically included, took part in this arrangement in that it was considered immediately subject to the German empire. The Swiss Confederation was still to have many a struggle for its liberty against the restored Hapsburg power, and to win undying fame. But its irreconcilable hatred of that house caused the events of the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century to be framed into a pleasing but untrustworthy narrative. The national legend which thus arose, and in which the representatives of the three cantons, Werner Stauffacher, Walter Fürst, and Arnold von Melchthal stand in the foreground, was later supplemented by a mythological element. Its hero is William Tell, its subject the shooting of the apple and the death of Gessler. Tell was long considered an historical personage, although unknown to contemporary historians. But none of the so-called proofs of his actual existence can stand the test of historical criticism. Let us controvert a few. None of the songs which celebrate Tell are older than the chronicle which Russ wrote at the end of the fifteenth century. The Tell chapels in Switzerland were not built until the myth became firmly rooted. Not even the name Tell appears in Uri at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Originally the Tell legend has no connection whatever with the liberation of the forest cantons. It was first brought into connection with that act through some scholar, and then spread through the medium of literature. Tell is in reality identical with the old Germanic mythical hero Toko. Now, about this Toko the learned Danish historian, Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote early in the thirteenth century, recounts a story which coincides in all essentials with Tell's shot and other deeds. We meet the same story in Icelandic, Norwegian, Danish, and English legends.

Not only the Swiss cantons were glad to be rid of Albert's rule. The German princes likewise rejoiced. They looked forward to the coming election as a time for their own aggrandizement and for further restriction of the royal power. The sons of Albert were all

too young to succeed him. Various other candidates entered the field. Not only did the Duke of Bavaria and Margrave Waldemar of Brandenburg stretch out their hands for the crown, but the count of Württemberg also sought it. Philip IV. of France tried his best to secure the election of his brother Charles of Valois, which would have made France predominant in western Europe, and have hopelessly subjected the papacy to the French crown. Consequently Clement V. (1305-1314) did everything in his power to counteract Philip's schemes and to see a German prince crowned. Only the archbishop of Cologne favored Philip's candidate. On the other hand Archbishop Baldwin of Treves urged the election of his brother Henry of Luxemburg, for whose cause he won the archbishop of Mayence, Peter von Aspelt (Fig. 143). To avoid the danger of a double election, the three temporal electors agreed at Bonn, in October, 1308, to leave the election to their spiritual peers, and to abide by it. On November 22 these named Henry of Luxemburg as their choice at a meeting in Rense. In pursuance of these preliminaries his election was formally solemnized in Frankfort, on November 27, 1308. Henry of Luxemburg was crowned king at Aix-la-Chapelle in January of the following year.

The personality of Henry VII. (1309-1313) was attractive. He was handsome and chivalrous and in the flower of manhood, cultured, and of a lively disposition: his spirit was full of a noble yet not always clearly defined ambition for greatness and glory. Such a character was well fitted to win popular favor. But he lacked the qualities essential to a national policy, — a German mind and spirit. Like most of the inhabitants of Luxemburg, Henry was, although a German prince, in manner and tongue a Frenchman. Consequently he did not comprehend what Germany most needed, especially as he was captivated by the spirit of chivalry, which had gradually lost its force through the strengthening of the monarchical spirit and the growing influence of the citizen class. Consequently Henry VII. from the start became personally involved in far-reaching but useless adventures which did not suffice for the needs of Germany. They only made new enemies for his country, and hastened the process of disintegration. His family policy alone was successful. By taking advantage of the endless party strife in Bohemia he succeeded in getting its crown for his house.

The enemies of Henry of Carinthia, who had held the Bohemian throne against King Albert (see p. 319) arose anew, and turned to



Henry VII. for help. His son John was consequently married to princess Elizabeth, the last of the house of Premysl. A suit was brought against Henry of Carinthia on the accusations of the Bohemian estates, which resulted in his deposition in 1310. John soon



FIG. 143. — Monument of Archbishop Peter von Aspelt in the Cathedral of Mayence, 1320. (After Forster.)

became king of Bohemia (Fig. 144), and the house of Luxemburg thus gained a foothold near the ancestral domains of the Hapsburgs.

Henry VII. had meanwhile begun to carry out his main political scheme, the invasion of Italy. To be entirely unembarrassed he made peace with Philip IV. of France by surrendering to him the

ancient imperial possessions of Burgundy and Lyons, which the French king had illegally occupied. Henry VII. negotiated with Pope Clement V., who finally promised to crown him emperor at Rome. It is significant of the feeling of the German realm as such towards Henry's Italian expedition, that it took no part in it whatever. Only his relatives and friends, his personal vassals and liegemen, joined the king in his private venture.

The condition, however, of Italian affairs excluded success from the very beginning. The peninsula had been the prey of internal strife ever since the downfall of the Hohenstaufen power. The rule of Charles of Anjou (1260-1284) was an unbearable burden for the south. In despair Sicily threw off the yoke in the massacre of the French intruders known as the 'Sicilian Vespers,' in 1282, and successfully maintained its freedom, under the protection of the kings



FIG. 141.—Gold coin of John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia. Coined for Luxemburg and very rare. The coin is of the French type called *chaise d'or*. Obverse: † JOHANNES † DEI † GRA [tria] † BOEMIORUM † REX. Original size. (Berlin.)

of Aragon, in its national war against Charles and his successor, Charles II. The peace of 1302 had already forced the Anjous practically to surrender their rule in Sicily to the house of Aragon. Naturally they remained the leaders of the Guelfic party, which was at one in its hatred of German domination. Their opponents were the Ghibellines, the party which sought to introduce peace and order by the restoration of the imperial overlordship; at their head stood the Aragonese kings of Sicily.

Italy became the scene of unending party warfare. The state of Lombardy was especially chaotic. There the Guelfic cities, led by Milan and Cremona, were pitted against those grouped around Mantua and Verona. These struggles caused weighty political and social changes. The nobility succumbed to the powerful craft-guilds, who reorganized the town government on a democratic basis. But the crafts, in order to follow their pursuits undisturbed, trans-

ferred the administration to a nobleman of military reputation, whence resulted the erection of a military despotism founded on a popular basis. The former allegiance of Lombardy to the German

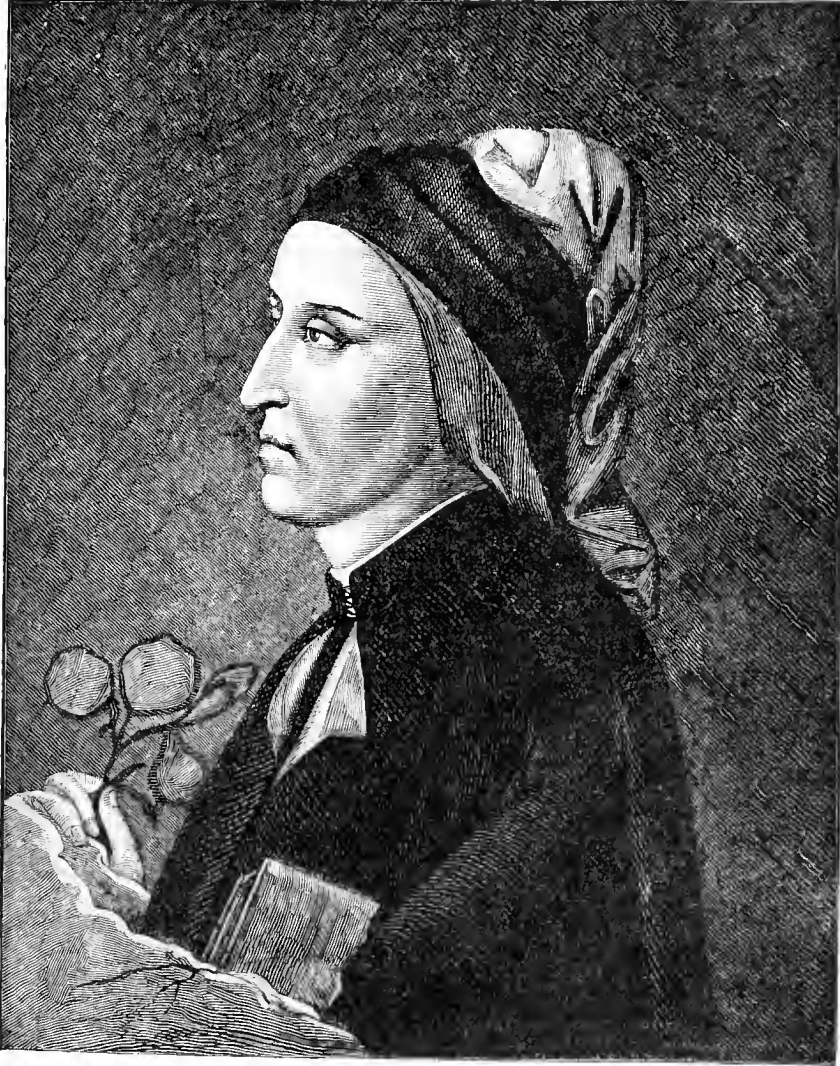


FIG. 115. -- Dante. Portrait by Giotto (1276-1336). After an aquarelle by Mussini. (Berlin.)

empire fell entirely into abeyance. In Tuscany the condition of affairs was similar. Prosperous Florence stood at the head of the Guelfs, whereas declining Pisa headed the Ghibellines. But mat-

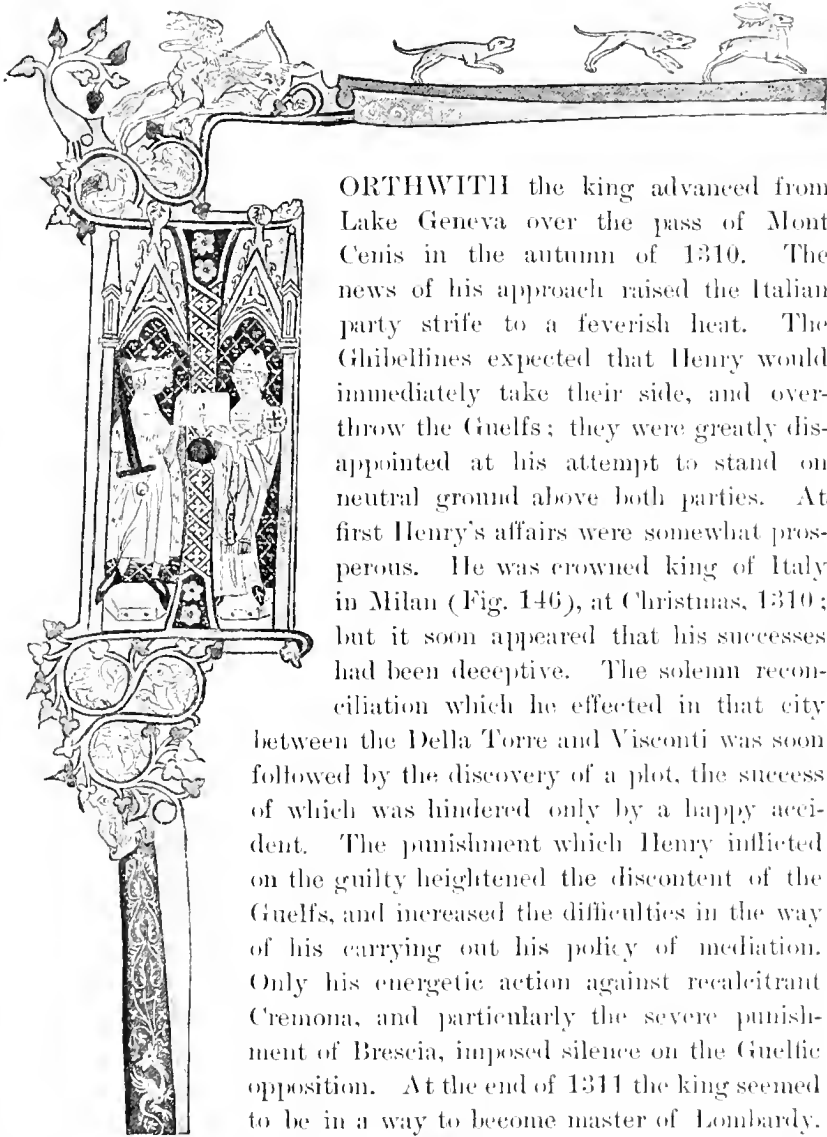
ters were in a particularly bad condition in the Papal States. Since the fall of Boniface VIII., and the absence of Clement V. in France, every semblance of order had left them. Petty dynasties raised independent principalities, while in Rome itself the antagonism of the mighty houses of Colonna and Orsini unchained a furious civil



• **Bellum ibi Gwido de Turri evasit.**

FIG. 146. — A Battle of the Knights of Henry VII., in Milan. Miniature from the Codex Balduini Trevirensis.

war. All sincere patriots longed for the return of the happy times of imperial rule. Foremost among these was the noble minded Florentine, Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) (Fig. 145), the author of the "Divine Comedy" and father of the Italian tongue. To his mind the first ray of hope for Italy shone at the coming of Henry VII. In lofty strains he welcomed the chivalrous prince in whom he saw the deliverer of his native land.



Initial letter representing the investiture of a bishop by the emperor. From that part of the *Codex Balduini Trevirensis* which contains the charters of Henry VII. Middle of Fourteenth Century. (Coblenz.)

ORTHWITH the king advanced from Lake Geneva over the pass of Mont Cenis in the autumn of 1310. The news of his approach raised the Italian party strife to a feverish heat. The Ghibellines expected that Henry would immediately take their side, and overthrow the Guelfs; they were greatly disappointed at his attempt to stand on neutral ground above both parties. At first Henry's affairs were somewhat prosperous. He was crowned king of Italy in Milan (Fig. 146), at Christmas, 1310; but it soon appeared that his successes had been deceptive. The solemn reconciliation which he effected in that city

between the Della Torre and Visconti was soon followed by the discovery of a plot, the success of which was hindered only by a happy accident. The punishment which Henry inflicted on the guilty heightened the discontent of the Guelfs, and increased the difficulties in the way of his carrying out his policy of mediation. Only his energetic action against recalcitrant Cremona, and particularly the severe punishment of Brescia, imposed silence on the Guelfic opposition. At the end of 1311 the king seemed to be in a way to become master of Lombardy. Instead of now taking the necessary active measures, the mild, diplomatic nature of Henry VII. suggested the renewal of friendly negotiations. But this very step rendered his recent successes barren; for it convinced the Guelfs that their fears had been unfounded, and the Ghibellines that they would not get the ex-

pected help. Thus both parties turned in disappointment from the king. Henry did not feel strong enough to force his way through Guelfic Tuscany. In February, 1312, he went by sea from Genoa to Pisa, on his way to Rome. All this time negotiations had been actively carried on with the papal court, which was in a dilemma between the claims of Henry VII. and those of the Anjous, which were supported by the French court. Henry found Rome partly in the power of King Robert 'the Wise' of Naples, the son and successor of Charles II. As he was not strong enough to oust him, and still hoped for a peaceful settlement with Naples, he dispensed with coronation in St. Peter's, which was in the enemies' possession. He was content to be crowned in the church of the Lateran, on June 29, 1312 (Fig. 147). Finally, however, the renewed hostilities of Robert forced the German emperor to give up his conciliatory attitude. He made a league with Frederick, king of Sicily, and thus became the head of the Ghibellines; but too late. Henry now resolved to carry out his policy energetically. He returned to Tuscany, and held a diet at Pisa, in the spring of 1313, to which he summoned Robert of Naples to vindicate himself. Robert naturally did not appear. The emperor outlawed him in consequence, together with the newly revolted Guelfic cities. Henry now eagerly prepared for war against the Anjous, in which he had little prospect of success, especially as he had again lost his meagre advantage in Lombardy. Further complications arose from the forced support which Pope Clement V. gave to Robert of Naples, forbidding all attacks on the vassal of St. Peter, on the pain of the ban. Nevertheless, Henry determined to face all these difficulties. In spite of his physical sufferings, he was unwearied in preparing his campaign. Regardless of the unfavorable season, he wished to undertake it directly. In August, 1313, he already began to march towards Rome. But soon he met a reverse at his attack on Siena. His fever grew worse, and he had to remain in the neighboring Buon-convento. There he died, on August 24, 1313. His remains were conducted to Pisa, to be buried in the Campo Santo (Fig. 148).

Henry VII. had not only succumbed to antagonistic forces which could no longer be mastered, but his whole activity also reacted unfavorably on all the districts which had fallen under his influence. He had not gratified the expectations of the Ghibellines; while the increase of power which he had given them urged their enemies, the Guelfs, to redoubled efforts. Only a few of the Ghibelline leaders



**Impator redit dans judeis legē moyſi i rotulo.**



**• Impator comedit in scā Sauina. •**

FIG. 147. — Henry VII. as emperor. Above he returns from his coronation, and is met by a deputation of Jews. Below he is at a banquet in the open air. He sits upon an elevated seat; at his side the three cardinals who crowned him; in front is the archbishop of Treves (left); and Rudolf of Bavaria, count-palatine (right). (Codex Balduini Trevirensis.)

whom Henry VII. had strengthened maintained their position; among these were Matteo Visconti, who, with Milan as a basis, ruled also Pavia and Como, and Cane della Scala, who ruled in Vicenza and Verona.

But Germany had to suffer most severely from the mistaken policy of the emperor. The contest for the throne which raged there for years was, as it were, the answer of the Anjous and France to the German interference south of the Alps. Little as the kingdom

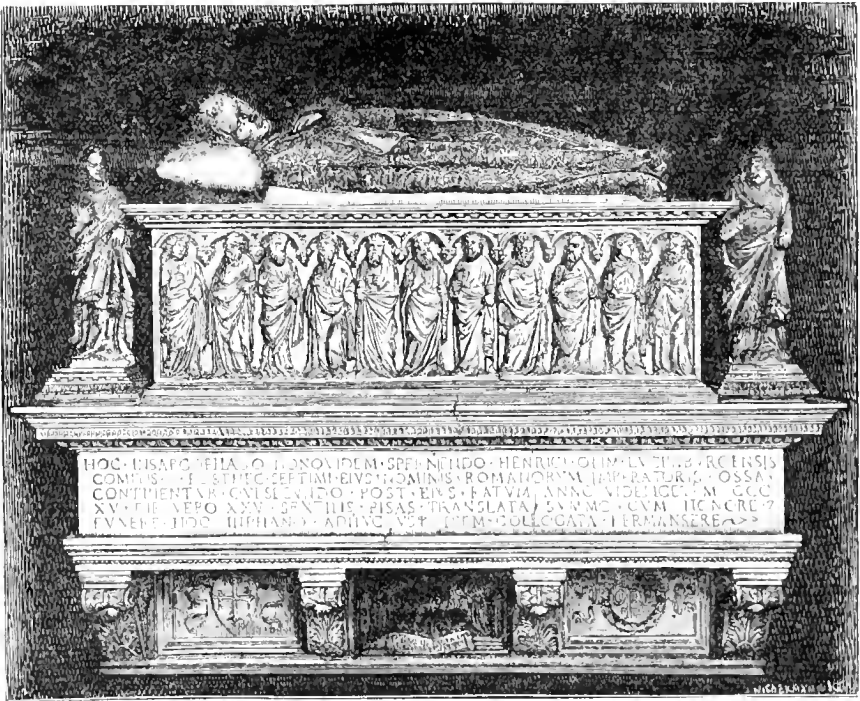


FIG. 118.—Sarcophagus of Emperor Henry VII. in the Campo Santo in Pisa.  
Modern inscription.

had been a party to the undertaking of Henry VII., the possibility nevertheless existed that a German king chosen by the Luxemburg party would follow out the lines of his policy. But Germany was to be excluded once for all from Italy. Therefore Robert of Naples demanded of the pope not to allow a new royal election in Germany, or, at least, not to crown emperor any one who might be elected. Robert took a more effective step when he had Clement V. invest him with the imperial regency in Italy, so as to deprive the empire of the last remnants of its possessions and rights.



In Germany the party of the Hapsburgs thought they could use these complications to attain to royal power again. All the enemies of the Luxemburgs gathered around Albert's sons, Frederick and Leopold. Among them were Henry of Carinthia, the deposed king of Bohemia; the Rhine count-palatine; and Duke Rudolf of Saxe-Wittenberg, a relative of the house of Hapsburg. The soul of the Luxemburg party was the diplomatic brother of Henry VII., Archbishop Baldwin of Treves. Peter von Aspelt of Mayence sided with him. The third ally was King John of Bohemia, who but for his youth would have been the natural candidate of his party. In his stead the party considered the candidacy of Duke Louis of Upper Bavaria, a foe of the Hapsburgs. Attempts at accommodation between the two parties proved unsuccessful. On October 19, 1313, Duke Frederick of Austria was elected king at Sachsenhausen, by the votes of Cologne, the Palatinate, Saxe-Wittenberg, and Carinthia-Bohemia. On the following day the electors of Mayence, Treves, and Brandenburg, together with Saxe-Lauenburg and John of Bohemia, proclaimed Louis of Bavaria king at Frankfort. Had the number of legitimate votes decided in the ensuing contest, Louis would undoubtedly have been king-elect, for he had had four votes. Frederick of Austria had only two, for the electoral franchise of Saxe-Wittenberg and Carinthia had no existence in constitutional law. But the formalistic conception of law then dominant laid all the stress on the observance of the customary usages at royal elections. Now, these had not been observed in all points by either party: for while Louis had received the crown in Aix-la-Chapelle, he had not been crowned by the regular official, the archbishop of Cologne: whereas Frederick had been crowned by him, but at Bonn instead of at Aix.

The civil war which the double election brought on lasted for eight years. It brought about the same results which different causes had produced in England and France; namely, an accentuation of antagonistic social differences. For Louis found his main support in the cities, and Frederick among the nobility. The final victory of one party was delayed by distractions which divided the forces of the contestants. Louis simultaneously waged war with his brother Rudolf of Lower Bavaria. Frederick was drawn into the schemes of his brother Leopold, who was trying to force the Swiss peasants into subjection. His severe defeat in the battle of Morgarten, on November 15, 1315, reacted unfavorably on the Hapsburg cause in Germany also. Moreover, the throne contest spread to Italy. Fred-

erick even made an alliance with the head of the Guelfs by marrying his sister to Charles, the son of King Robert of Naples. On the latter, however, such overtures had no success. On the contrary he removed to Avignon (Fig. 149) which belonged to his house and which Clement's successor, Pope John XXII. (1316-1334) had made his residence; but his plans to protract the struggle failed. On September 28, 1322, Louis gained a decisive victory over Frederick at Mühldorf. His opponent was captured, and put into safe keeping. After this battle the country almost universally accepted Louis the Bavarian as king, and he could now exercise his limited authority unhindered. Now he was again in a position to follow up

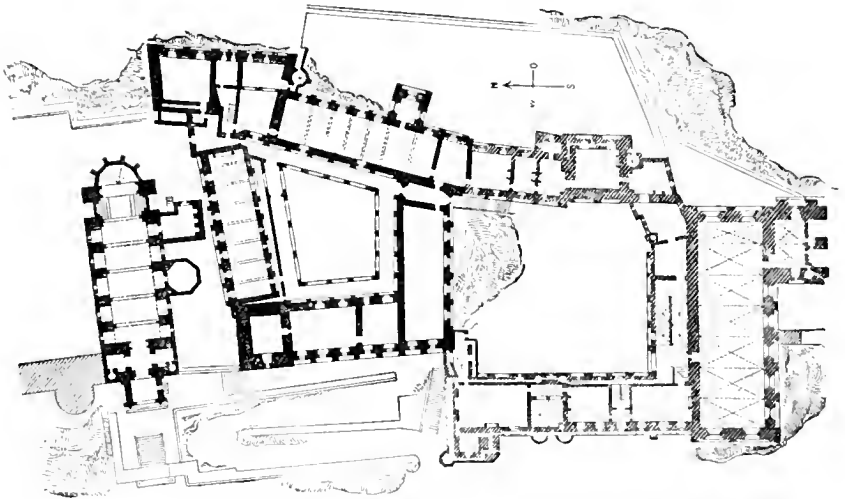
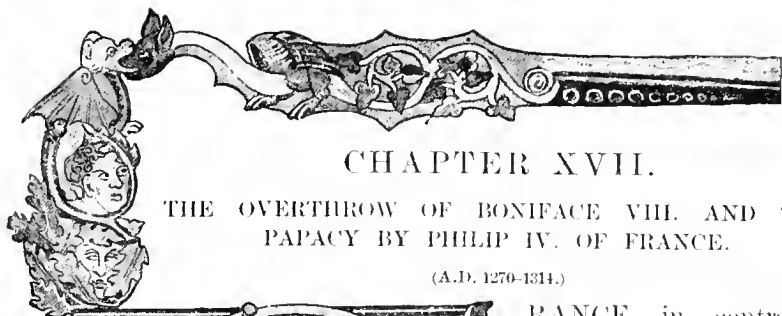


FIG. 149. — Plan of the papal palace at Avignon. (From Viollet-le-Duc.)

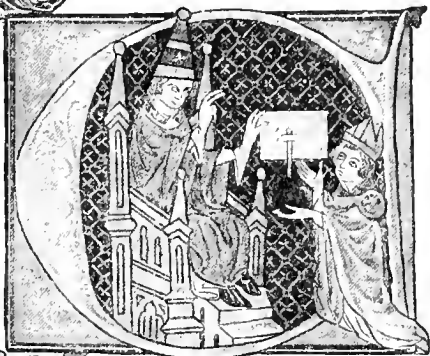
his earlier Italian connections, and to counteract the papal intrigues against Germany. But Robert of Naples intended to hinder this at any cost. With a view to this he caused John XXII. to raise claims, not only in regard to Italy and the imperial office, but also in regard to Germany and the royal crown, which contemptuously disregarded the real state of politics. The pope's claims forced all the enemies of the papacy to combined opposition by their daring presumption and the scope of their possible consequences. Thus the conflict between the Empire and the Papacy broke out anew on a grand scale. The course and final outcome of this conflict only hastened the great process of disintegration which had begun to transform the mediæval world.



## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE OVERTHROW OF BONIFACE VIII. AND THE PAPACY BY PHILIP IV. OF FRANCE.

(A.D. 1270-1314.)



Representation of the pope giving a bull to a bishop. Initial letter in an illuminated manuscript of the fourteenth century. (Coblenz.)

RANCE, in contradistinction to the increasing decline of Germany toward the end of the Hohenstaufen period, had advanced rapidly in the direction of territorial and national consolidation since the days of Philip Augustus (pp. 248-250). It had reached a definite stage in its development through the moderate, energetic, and mild rule of

Louis IX., the Pious (pp. 253-258). The rise of the French monarchy was steady during the reign of the next two kings. But this progress raised the royal power to such a pitch that a feudal reaction was to be feared under weaker rulers.

The successor of Louis IX., Philip III. (1270-1285), was even more intent on the territorial and political centralization of France than his father had been. He received a great advantage by the death of his brother, Jean Tristan, when the rich county of Valois reverted to the crown. Poitou and Auvergne followed soon after on the death of his uncle Alfonso and his spouse Jeanne. The greedy Charles of Anjou indeed claimed a part of

the latter two districts, but the Parlement of Paris dismissed his claim. This decision established the principle that the crown lands, devoted to the maintenance of the younger lines of the royal house, could not be distributed as private family property among the other lines at the extinction of the respective line, but must revert undivided to the king. Thus a stop was put to the further dismemberment of the kingdom. Furthermore, Philip III. took a step of great moment when he restricted the privileged position of the nobility by declaring the townspeople capable of holding feudal fiefs.

Philip IV., the Fair (1285-1314), continued the policy of his ancestors, and inaugurated a new era. When he ascended the throne he was only seventeen years old. He was a thorough absolutist, comparable, among mediæval rulers, perhaps only to the Emperor Frederick II. He was a merciless egotist, against whom no alien right had force or could even claim consideration. On the whole, he was far ahead of his time. Philip IV. is the exponent of a new kind of rule, which declared war to the death to all feudal and clerical powers. That anti-clerical enlightenment, which was one of the chief results of the Crusades, thus found its political embodiment in him. For that very reason Philip IV. became a blessing to his land and people (Fig. 150), in a critical period of transition. By centralizing the power of the state with an iron hand he secured the future of France, and enabled her to weather the coming storms.

The foreign affairs of France offered its enemies special opportunities for interference, and complicated internal and external difficulties in a threatening manner. Papal mediation succeeded in settling the war with Aragon. Also the English war resulted in a favorable arrangement for France. This war broke out again when Philip, on the refusal of Edward I. to do personal homage for Guienne, retaliated by occupying that country. A truce, which the pope brought about, did not last long. But in the end Boniface VIII. succeeded in inducing the enemies to lay down their arms. When the weak Edward II. followed in England, and sought support through his marriage with Philip's daughter, Isabella, the predominance of France was established also in England. The districts south of the Garonne remained English, but were to be under French overlordship. It cost Philip small pains to win Lyons, which was then at war with its lord, the archbishop. The citizens willingly submitted to the king in return for the confirmation of their charters. The subjection of Flanders, however, proved quite another matter.

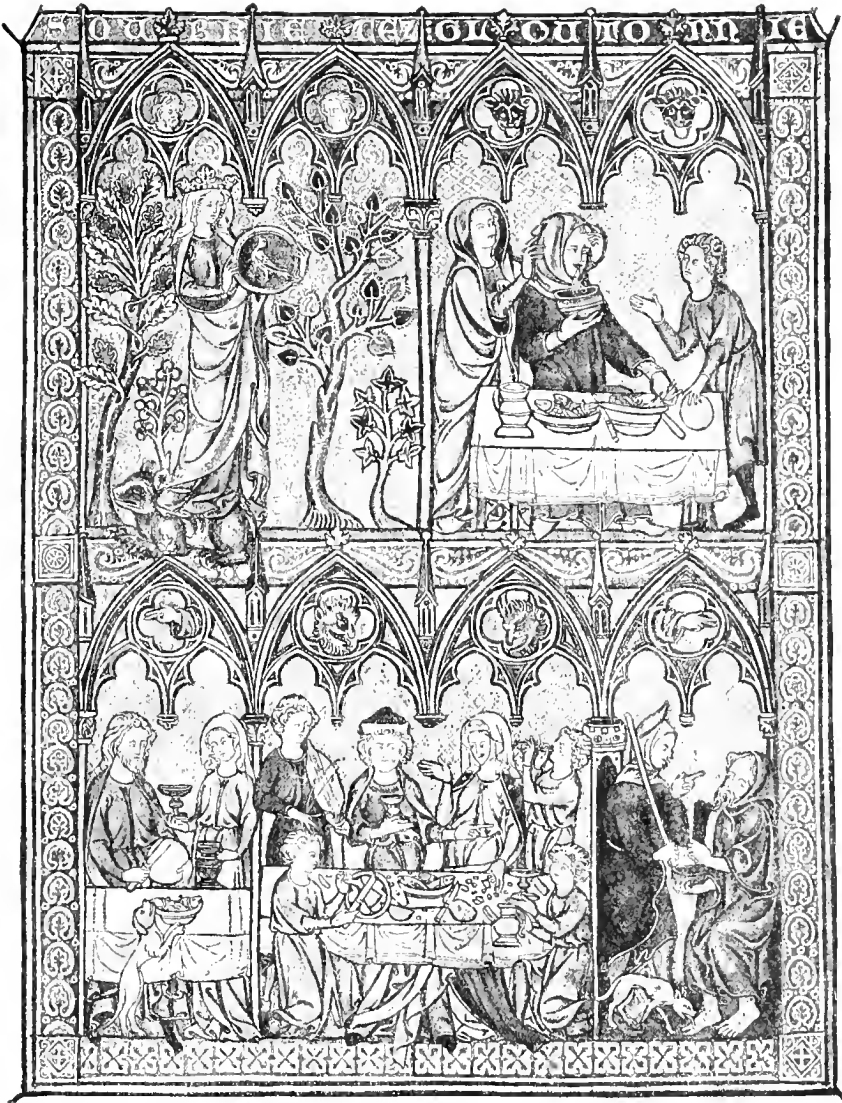


FIG. 150. — Miniature in a MS. entitled "*Somme le roi*" of about 1300. British Museum. It is interesting as showing the costumes at the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the upper field Moderation (*Soubrettez*) is figured; at the right Gluttony (*Glouttonnie*). At the lower right hand corner Lazarus. (Published by the Palaeographical Society of London.)

Flanders had for a long time been contested by France and Germany. It made an alliance against France with England, to which it was closely bound by commercial ties, particularly the woollen industry.

Notwithstanding this, the French king defeated Count Guido in 1300, and subjugated his land. The French rule, however, became so oppressive that it ended in the so-called 'Flemish Vespers,' the massacre of the French in Bruges. In the ensuing war the Burgundian allies of the Flemings won a great victory in the "Battle of the Spurs" at Courtrai, July 11, 1302. To wipe out this score, Philip IV. strained the resources of his kingdom to the utmost, and succeeded in overrunning Flanders in 1304; but he finally had to restore Count Guido, because of the outbreak of his great conflict with the papacy.

The cause of this did not lie in the ecclesiastical conditions of France. On the basis of the old Gallican usages, they were organized in a way which secured the French church and state from interference. Consequently the crown had found means to repel those encroachments, which occurred notwithstanding, without breaking seriously with the papacy. Matters changed, however, when, on the abdication of Celestine V., Benedict Gaetani ascended the papal throne as Boniface VIII. He was a man of imposing presence, whose intellectual gifts and soaring ambition were well calculated to confer a new importance on the papacy. But in the face of existing conditions Boniface VIII. sought to give weight to the declining papal authority in forms and fields which forced hitherto unconcerned parties to rise in self-defence. It is a question whether he went very far beyond the claims of Gregory VII. or Innocent III. for papal supremacy; but, at any rate, he enunciated them with unheard of openness as principles for the future guidance of states, princes, and nations. The newly revived theory of papal omnipotence was none the more acceptable because it aimed primarily at uniting the western nations under it for the reconquest of the Holy Land.

For the purpose of establishing universal peace, Boniface VIII. tried to stop the war between England and France. He mediated a truce in 1297, which he hoped to prolong, and eventually turn into a peace. But the war in Flanders proved a great obstacle. The pope wished to settle it by arbitration binding on both parties. Philip IV. agreed to submit to this if Boniface should act only as a private person, and not in his official capacity as pope. To this Boniface made no objection. He valued the king's advances the more, as Philip had already had a hot contest with the hierarchy, which had filled him with mistrust of the papal claim to supremacy.

Burdened by the stringent fiscal measures of Philip, the French

clergy had complained in Rome. The pope (Fig. 151) in 1296 thereupon issued the bull <sup>1</sup> *Clericis laicos*. This forbade laymen on pain of the ban to levy taxes and dues on the clergy and their possessions, forbidding the clergy, at the same time, to make any such payments without previous papal consent. But these principles were entirely contrary to French custom and usage, and their adoption would have made the future growth of the new French monarchical system impossible. Undoubtedly Boniface VIII. had overshot the mark in his zeal. He had raised impracticable demands, a fact which he afterwards acknowledged by formally recalling the bull. The French king, however, immediately retaliated by forbidding, on August 17, 1296, the export of precious wares, money, weapons, and horses. Boniface was unpleasantly reminded of the limitations of his power, and directed an angry remonstrance to Philip the next month. It



FIG. 151. — Obverse and reverse of a bulla of Boniface VIII. Original size.

said that the French king, unlike his ancestors, dared to tamper with the freedom of the church. Then adopting a milder tone, the document went on to say that the pope had not thought of withdrawing from him the means which the king needed for the defence of his realm. On the contrary, he would have allowed him to lay hands on the treasures of the church for this purpose. He gave full powers to act in future negotiations to Bishop William of Viviers. But on September 30, in contravention thereof, the pope issued the bull *Ineffabilis amoris dulcedine*, which repeated unchanged the principles laid down in the bull *Clericis laicos*. It went still further by announcing the principle that the king had no power whatever over the clergy, and by threatening the king with severe punishment in case of future disobedience.

In spite of such hot words, however, affairs once more took a

<sup>1</sup> The name bull (*bullo*) was given first to the leaden seal appended to a certain kind of papal document. Its meaning was then extended to cover the document itself. — Tr.

peaceful turn. Philip IV. did not wish to fight out the battle just at that moment, when the renewal of the English war and other complications demanded his attention. But neither party would yield an inch. Meanwhile the pope himself was otherwise engaged in strife with the mighty Colonnas. They had helped him to the papal throne, but had been ill requited. By way of retaliation they took up arms under Sciarra Colonna, and harassed Rome and the States of the Church with a frightful civil war, which lasted from 1297 to 1299.

While the pope was passionately combating the Colonnas, he continued his efforts toward establishing universal peace. With this end in view, he arbitrated, in January, 1297, as a private person, in the matter of the Anglo-French war. Flanders, to the surrender of which Philip IV. would never have consented, was not mentioned in the arbitration. This is a clear proof that Boniface wished to remain on good terms with France, and to preserve the restored peace. The German king Albert broke his alliance with France, and acknowledged Boniface VIII. as his fiefdom lord, at least on parchment. In Denmark the pope triumphed over King Eric VI., who was at war with John, archbishop of Lund.

But a change took place when, in 1300, Boniface VIII. celebrated a so-called Jubilee, which offered particularly full indulgences to all comers. The rush to Rome of untold thousands, who worshipped the vicar of Christ in the dust, and the blinding splendor of the festival, were well calculated to deceive the world about the actual state of the church. Above all, Boniface himself was deceived. He actually appeared clothed in the papal and imperial robes of state. He had heralds proclaim to the wondering pilgrims that the hitherto separated swords which God had appointed to rule the world,<sup>1</sup> the highest spiritual and temporal powers, were now united in one hand. The theories which the pope's bull had only hinted at seemed to be put in a fair way of practical execution. The first attack of Boniface was aimed at France, where the pope was again involved in a dispute about church government with the king. The insolent and defiant manner of Bernard de Saisset, bishop of Pamiers and papal legate, hastened the breach. The king banished him from the court for his insulting speeches, whereupon the bishop gave vent to his disgust in the vilest terms. As his complaints were vain, the king attached Saisset's estates, and summoned him to the royal court at Senlis in

<sup>1</sup> See St. Luke xxii. 34-38, and St. John xviii. 10-11, on which the papal doctrine of the two swords is founded. — Tr.



October, 1301. In the course of the legal proceedings, the old antagonism between temporal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction revived, and made a test case of the principles just proclaimed by Boniface. With the issue of the trial, papal supremacy stood or fell. In this light, it appears, both parties looked at the renewed conflict from the beginning. The future of the French monarchy, and therewith of the monarchical form of government, were at stake.

Boniface took the first step. He summoned a council for November, 1302, to discuss a remedy for the excesses, insults, and injuries of which the king had been guilty toward the clergy. The pope requested Philip to appear in person or by proxy. This put an end to the king's vacillation. He drove Saisset, whose delivery the papal court demanded, out of the country in disgrace. The blind zeal of Boniface now prompted him to play continually into the king's hands by emphasizing the final aims of the hierarchy, and thus driving everybody in France into the king's camp. For in the bull *Salvator mundi*, dated December 4, 1301, Boniface took back all the concessions which he had formerly made Philip in regard to the taxation of the clergy. The bull *Ausculta fili*, which he issued the next day, repeated, with special reference to the French king, the pope's declaration of the subordination of the royal power to the ecclesiastical. Simultaneously he charged the king to rule better, and to do more towards succoring the Holy Land. In answer to this attack, Philip called on the nation to take defensive measures. He called upon the Estates of the realm to appear at a joint session in Paris on April 8, 1302. The barons and prelates were to appear in person, whereas the cities were each to send two or three representatives of good standing. The admission of the third estate into the councils of the kingdom was a momentous step in the development of the French constitution.

In the presence of the king the States-General met on April 10, 1302, in the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris. Pierre de Flot laid the matter before the council. The king declared he would risk his all to maintain the independence threatened by the pope. The estates sided with him. In view of the council which the pope had summoned, journeys to Rome were forbidden, and the papal court notified of this resolution. To be sure, this prohibition did not make a great impression, because the Flemish Vespers and the battle of Courtrai presently brought Philip unexpected reverses. Boniface felt sure of victory when in November he opened his council, to

which a few French bishops had come. On the eighteenth the pope consequently proclaimed once more, through the bull *Unam sanctam*, his doctrine of the relation between church and state. Starting from the indivisible unity of the church under one head, he repeated the supposed doctrine of the Gospels about the two swords (see p. 338, note). He claimed that the spiritual sword was as superior to the temporal one as the heavenly was to the earthly. If, therefore, the earthly power went astray it ought to be judged by the heavenly. But this, as the highest of all powers, could only be judged by God, never by man. Now the judicial authority of the papacy was divine. Whoever opposed it, set himself up against God himself. Consequently, to be subject to the pope was the prime condition of salvation for every human creature. The theory of papal supremacy had never been stated so boldly. The excommunication of all those who hindered the clergy from going to Rome now had little additional significance.

Philip retaliated promptly. Instead of the estates, he summoned a committee, the notables, to meet in the Louvre in the middle of April, 1303. Here William de Plessis brought the king's accusation against the pope. It contained both truth and falsehood, and inflamed the heated passions of the people. About the same time (April 13) Boniface excommunicated the king directly. The bull of excommunication was not made public; and the messengers who had brought it were thrown into prison. Every loyal Frenchman knew what party to espouse when the bull of May 31, 1303, became known. It freed the French archbishops and bishops, and the princes of Burgundy, Lorraine, Bar, Dauphiné, and Provence from their allegiance. The whole nation rose in protest. On June 10 the reassembled notables demanded a legitimate pope, and the king appealed to a general council. A fortnight later a large popular meeting in the garden of the Louvre repeated these resolutions with the participation of the clergy, which was not entirely voluntary, to be sure.

A movement was thus begun in France which might lead to unforeseen consequences, and inflict unsuspected losses on the Roman church. On September 1, 1303, Boniface VIII. waived Philip's appeal to a general council, and had a bull prepared which excommunicated him again in the most violent terms. But before it could be issued, an unexpected blow of the enemy felled the pope to the ground.

Only the main facts of the event are clear. It is not probable that such unheard of violence was premeditated. Philip seems rather to have desired an understanding with the pope when he sent one of his most skilful and active counsellors, his chancellor, William de Nogaret, to Italy in January, 1303. In the course of negotiations, however, the latter seems to have concluded that the difference did not admit of a peaceable solution. He seems to have reckoned on the support of the pope's enemies, the king of Naples and the Romans. But in vain. He had more success among the Ghibellines of the Romagna. In especial the captain of Ferentino, Rinaldo di Supino, offered his aid to enforce the summons for a general council. Consequently he made a formal alliance with Nogaret, who had received full powers from the king to act in that event. Sciarra Colonna also lent a helping hand; and so Boniface, who had retired to Anagni, was surprised by the three conspirators and their troops on the night of September 5, 1303. French gold had opened the city gates. Without meeting any serious obstacles, the intruders pressed into the papal palace. In his robes of state, upon the papal throne, Boniface awaited them, resolved to suffer the worst in defence of the church. With loud threats Nogaret demanded the summoning of the council. Boniface dismissed the demand, and calmly bent his neck to the blow of Sciarra's raised sword. Nogaret afterwards claimed that he had averted the execution of that extreme measure. However, there is no sufficient proof that it was ever contemplated.

The attempt of Nogaret and his companions had failed. Boniface continued immovable during the two days and nights when he was in the power of his enemies. In the meantime the scale turned in his favor. The zealously papal population of Anagni recovered from its terror. It noticed the small force of the invaders, and armed itself for their overthrow. The news of the outrage also brought Roman cavalry to Anagni. Despairing of successful resistance, Nogaret and his followers retreated on September 9. Boniface, saved as by a miracle, was carried by the jubilant people to the market-place, where he preached and gave them his blessing. On the eleventh day following he returned to Rome. We may certainly take for granted that his mind turned exclusively on revenge. But in spite of his rescue, the outrage of Anagni had crushed him. Not only the excitement of that event caused the old man to lose his wonted self-confidence. It was rather the con-

sciousness that his idea of divine omnipotence (PLATE XII.) found no acceptance, and that no one raised a hand to punish the oppressors of the vicar of Christ on earth, which bowed him down. This kept him from retaliating promptly. Everything hung in the balance when he died on October 11, 1303, and was hurriedly buried the same day.

The outrage of Anagni was a crushing blow to the papacy. It further shook the wide-spread belief in the necessity of the papacy. The main thing was that the church itself did not adhere to the extreme policy of Boniface, and that the college of cardinals rejected it. This feeling found expression in the election of the mild and conciliatory cardinal-bishop of Ostia. Conscious of the fact that his forerunner's rule had placed the church in a dilemma, Benedict XI., without loss of dignity, adopted a peaceable course, which disarmed and reconciled Philip IV. Thus the pope broke with the policy of Boniface, and released Philip from the ban. He renounced the right of papal provisions for France, recalled the ecclesiastical censures launched at the French prelates and barons, and even distinctly rescinded the bull *Clericis laicos*. Besides, he restored their estates and rights to the Colonnas, and forced the archbishop of Lyons to cancel the interdict with which he had punished his city for falling off to the king. He excluded only the prime actors in the outrage of Anagni from the general amnesty. Nogaret, Rinaldo di Supino, and Sciarra Colonna were summoned to Rome to account for their actions. Benedict's policy reaped universal approval. Under the circumstances it was most unfortunate for the church that the cautious and diplomatic pope died so soon as July, 1304. Nothing more displeasing could have happened to Philip IV., for he could not count on the same acquiescence from the next pope. However, a remarkable change took place just then which put the fate of the papacy entirely into the hands of the French king, thereby hastening the catastrophe of the mediæval church.

Unfortunately we have no exact knowledge of the steps in this development. The ten months' session of the conclave points to marked differences and a sharp conflict. Finally the archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand d'Agoust, was elected pope. As Clement V. (1305-1314), he was entirely subservient to Philip IV.; this was soon explained on the ground that d'Agoust had made definite promises to the king in order to get the papal tiara. We must,





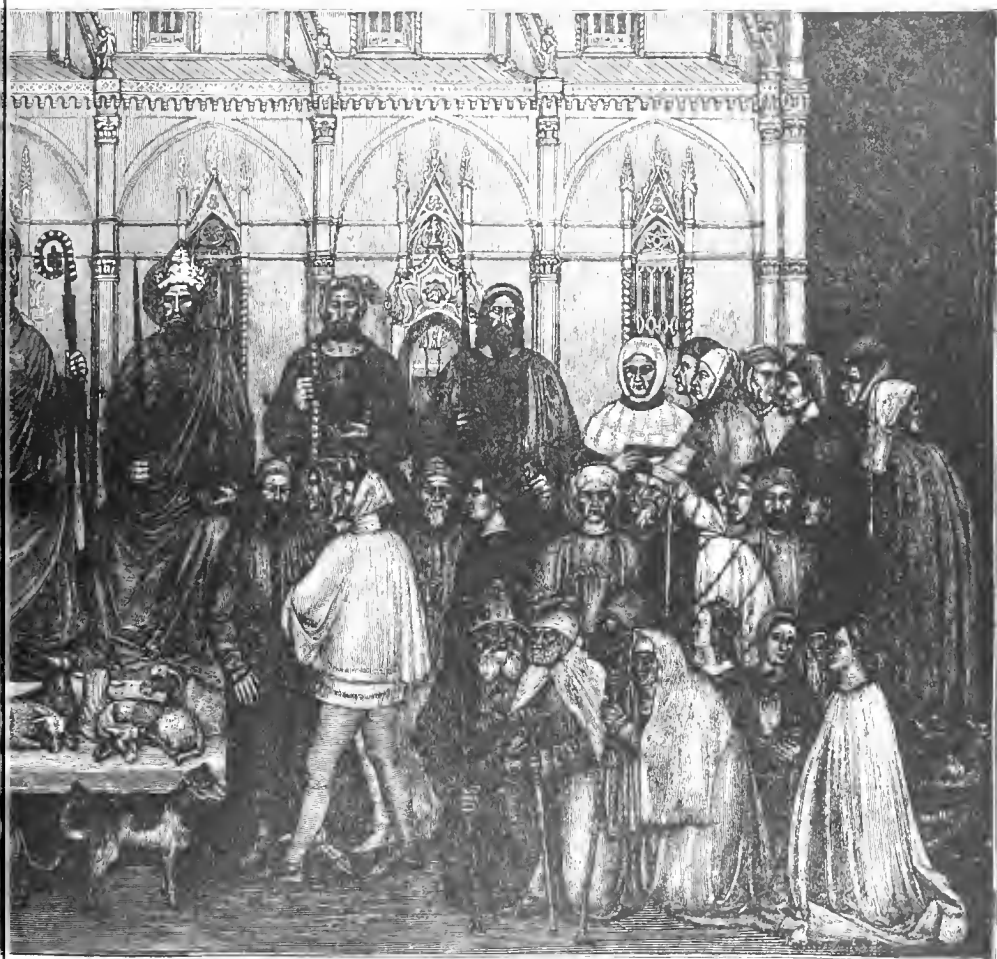
Petrarch's letter to the knight  
of Thibault with the Ma-  
testoso cross




Cardinal Nicola da Prato (Petrarch's letter)

# The Church Militant and

Francesco Simon Martini, 1250-1311, in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, Florence. The painting is a reproduction of the original painting.

*Reproduction of the original painting, 1311, in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.*



<p>    <b>Benedict XI</b> </p>	<p>    <b>Emperor Henry VII</b> </p>	<p>    <b>Philip IV the Fair</b>  of France </p>
<p>The painter's name is</p>		

the Church Triumphant.

es of the figures rest on the very doubtful authority of Vasari. Modern investigators deny this.





indeed, take such a compact for granted, to explain the undignified behavior of the pope. But the attempt to specify the contents of the secret treaty is vain. If Clement made particular promises before his election, they probably had reference not to the future, but to the past, inasmuch as he gave his consent to have the proceedings of Boniface VIII. examined and condemned. It is quite conceivable that the French king should have made this demand. He did not wish the late pope's action to serve as a precedent. Moreover, the promise of instituting a process against the acts of Boniface VIII. became the means of enabling Philip the Fair to coerce the pope's will in another affair. This was the part which the king forced Clement to take in the destruction of the Knights Templars, an act which injured the papacy alike morally, politically, and materially.

In 1119, when the young Christian state in the Holy Land was still in a precarious position, a Burgundian knight, Hugo de Payns, Geoffrey of St. Omer, and some fellow knights, joined in protecting pilgrims on their way to and from Jerusalem. They adopted the Benedictine rule for their common life. They took the name of Templars from the house near the Temple which King Baldwin I. gave them. Bernard of Clairvaux became their chief benefactor. At the Synod of Troyes, in 1128, the pope confirmed their rule, and instituted them the first spiritual military order. Favored by the high-church tendencies of the time, the order soon acquired vast temporal possessions in Palestine, and also in Western Europe, especially in France. The ecclesiastical development of the order was still more brilliant and peculiar. Alexander III. established a regular clergy especially for the order, through his famous bull of June 18, 1163, *Omne datum optimum*. Henceforth the Templars could admit clerics into their body. These the pope made so independent of their usual ecclesiastical superiors that the order gradually became an independent religious close corporation. Its head was no less a person than the pope, who was called the bishop of the order; it was thus withdrawn from the supervision of the diocesan bishops, who consequently became its bitter enemies. The Roman court had supported the order because it needed it. For a long time the Templars had not been content with the care of the pilgrims in the East. They had become the chief agency in the continued war against the infidel; and, besides, had always distinguished themselves by their unusual zeal for the papal cause. By virtue of its

enormous income, the order became a great financial power, which was often utilized by lay princes, especially the kings of France. Under these new conditions, which could only be satisfied by stretching the elastic rule of the Templars, the essence of the order changed more and more.

After Alexander III. had called the regular clergy of the order into being, so that the sacraments and divine services might be dispensed to it more conveniently, it gradually became the custom of the Templars to confess only to their priests. In fact, they were no longer allowed to confess to outside priests without the consent of their clergy. In time, indeed, a form of confession and absolution prevailed which was contrary to the teaching of the church. The order was permitted to carry on an inner life which was peculiar and exclusive, and which was by no means in harmony with its original calling. To what an extent that was actually the case, has been a matter of controversy down to the present day.<sup>1</sup> It is indisputable that at its downfall usages obtained in the order which were revolting and blasphemous, such as kissing, at the initiation, parts of the body which modesty hides, and spitting upon the cross. But we must assume that such practices were the outcome of the rude symbolism of a coarse knighthood, under the guise of which the novice took the oath of unconditional obedience to his superior.

It is not easy to conceive the humiliating impression which the failure of the Crusades made on those directly concerned in them to the last. Many turned away from a religion which had brought such misery and disgrace upon its professors. The French knights were especially oppressed by this feeling. Some characteristic expressions which emanated from the Templars prove this clearly. The sceptical spirit arising therefrom gave ready acceptance to heretical teachings, which ran riot in the thirteenth century. These appeared in all manner of forms, and quite got the upper hand in some districts. This applies particularly to the south of France, where the nobility had defended its faith against the papal hosts during the Albigenian crusade. In this region the Templars held

<sup>1</sup> The best English account of the question, from the opposite point of view, will be found in H. C. Lea's "*History of the Inquisition*." The most recent writer on the subject likewise maintains the innocence of the Templars: J. Gmelin, "*Schuld oder Unschuld des Templerordens*," Stuttgart, 1893. The author prints a mass of unpublished material. — Tr.

rich estates, and the southern French nobility had joined their ranks in great numbers. Here Albigensian doctrines could easily have invaded the order, and been there cultivated. Indeed, we can discern the influence of the Albigenses in some of the usages of the Templars.

But the matter appeared in its true significance, and became more dangerous, as the order spread rapidly. Everybody desired to share its ecclesiastical and temporal advantages. The institution of the *servientes*, or serving brethren, offered this means. The Templars admitted men of the lowest extraction as serving members. They embraced not only such as, according to the original rule of the order, were to do menial service in the religious houses and on the manors of the Templars, but also the tenants of their estates and the inhabitants of their villages. Even whole communities were admitted in a body to membership. This incorporated them in the parishes of the order, and gave them immunity from the customary church dues. In every way it cut them loose from the ordinary church organization. Now, it is clear that the observance of the aforesaid revolting rites would waken the vilest conceptions among the members from the lowest classes. The Templars had for a long time been held in general disrepute. Moral laxity, insolence, and violence were attributed to them not without reason. The order, as such, had given ample proof of a narrow, selfish policy, which had greatly harmed the Christian cause in the Holy Land.

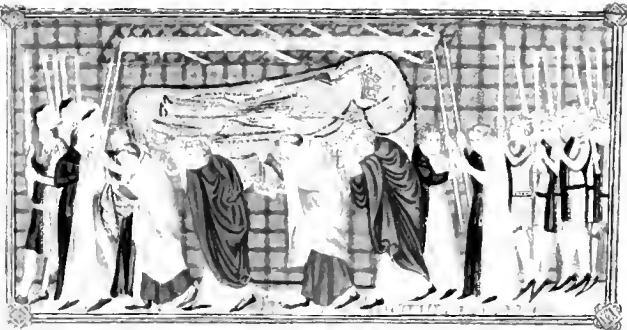
Besides, the order became antagonistic to the strengthened French monarchy, and almost had a conflict with it in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Templars enjoyed freedom from taxation and certain services, and from the royal jurisdiction. The tighter Philip IV. drew the rein, the greater the people's desire was to escape the restraint by entering the order. To add to the grievance, the Templars applied their rich income, since the loss of their estates in Palestine, to increase them in France. Repeated attempts of the French kings to stop this dangerous growth of power, and the increase of their estates in mortmain, had met with no success. Philip the Fair appears to have tried to win the friendship of the order, until it challenged his enmity by sending money to Rome during his conflict with Boniface VIII.

But matters did not come to a head before the pontificate of Clement V. Again we are in the dark as to the origin of the trans-

action. The facts, externally strung together, but unconnected, give rise to ample speculations. It is impossible to decide what the motive of Clement V. was. Did he really have only a crusade in mind when he invited the master of the order, Jacques de Molay, to visit him from Cyprus, or did he seek the help of the order to throw off the French yoke? Was it his wish to reform the order? did the knowledge of Philip's purpose to break its power in France make him anxious to cross the king's plans? At any rate, we must not assume that the pope was in league with the king, and only entrapped the master of the order and his most influential associates so as to deliver them up to the king. On the contrary, it appears from the defective and contradictory sources that the king seized an unexpected opportunity to crush the hateful order with his own unscrupulous energy. In 1304 or 1305 the revolting usages of the Templars seem to have been denounced in several quarters. Both the king, and especially the French Grand Inquisitor, William Imbert, heard of them. And Clement V., too, was informed of the denunciations before his consecration in Lyons on November 14, 1305. Jacques de Molay naturally denied all guilt at his examination. This satisfied the pope. But meanwhile the Grand Inquisitor had taken up the matter himself, and began investigations which the state was bound to support according to French law. It is open to question whether he could legally bring suit against a body which was exempt from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and whether he ought not to have awaited orders from the pope, to whom the Templars were alone responsible. In any case, it took the king's council six months to decide on the proceedings to be adopted. The king carried on negotiations with Clement without definitely getting at his position, it appears. However, the pope seemed bent on drawing out the investigation, and first of all on getting it into his own hands, which might make its issue very doubtful for the king. Consequently Philip and William Imbert determined to proceed independently on the strength of the Inquisitor's official authority. On September 14, 1307, the king ordered all his bailiffs and other officers to arrest all the Templars on October 13, and imprison them. They were also to attach their goods and make inventories of them. Jacques de Molay seems to have been warned, but he did not take heed. He even made his home in Paris itself. Thus on the appointed day all the Templars resident in France were arrested. At a blow the proud organization fell.



Et leur mariage de la dñe poine auoit vn  
cuerceier si digne que moult auoient en  
honneur le visage par un et estoient en la main  
dextre vu petit laiton des ouuier par delles en  
la façon d'une rose et en la main auoir  
une croix et estoient en la compagnie moult  
les colliges et les ordres de parus menandois  
craintes et toutes les gens nobles qui y  
estoit lors a Paris prelas et autres. et mys  
toches deuant chascun de v. heures. Et  
apres le corps aloient apue le duc de bourg  
ogne de la dñe poine et plusieurs autres du  
lignage du roy ouz velus deuoir



**E**nchies puzent plusieurs en l'eglise  
moine dame de parais et la sa  
le wps en cuer dielle eglise  
seulours; vne leur nomble di  
pelle de leon conuente de ceige  
Et autour de la nef de la die eglise auoit  
autres .iij. cordes di pus dielles qui a  
moient cite puzent acormire le wps. Et  
cunnon le wps auoir toulours tant a  
porter le corps dme en l'eglise .iij. gress  
toches que portoit .xij. varde de cham  
bre di roy et tantost l'aucun wps a vogal  
de moens .iij. moens. Et fist le leuise cu la dite  
eglise de parais leudque de parais et ceus les  
autres prelatz tant aucunesques dme e  
aucunes et albz furent reuistz aucunes  
leuz mitres et leuz cottes et eblenre .xv.  
prelatz di les aucunesques de lion et de traimes

The king informed the University (cf. PLATE XIII.<sup>1</sup>) and clergy of Paris on the next day. The Sorbonne, or theological faculty, declared that only the pope was qualified to judge the order. Notwithstanding, the Inquisition forthwith set to work under Imbert's direction. The examination confirmed in all essentials the accusations of the denunciators, and proved at least that the denial of Christ and the desecration of the cross had often been

#### <sup>1</sup> EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIII.

Faësimile of a page of the manuscript of the *Chronicles of St. Denis*, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

This manuscript is one of the most beautiful monuments of the mediæval history of France. It was prepared under the supervision of Matthieu de Vendosme, abbot of St. Denis, near Paris. The work was begun at the beginning of the reign of King Philip the Bold of France, to whom it was dedicated in 1274. Primaz, a regular canon of the abbey, began it, and carried it down to 1223. From that time other monks continued the chronicle to 1380. The miniature represents the entombment of Queen Blanche, who died in 1232. The next describes her burial.

The faësimile is reduced from the original size of the manuscript. This consists of a folio of 545 parchment leaves, of which fifty-two are blank.

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

Et sur le visage de la dite Roïne avoit un encheuchief \*) si dehe que tout plainement ouvroit le visage parmy et avoit en sa main destre un petite baston dor ouure pardessus en la facon d'une rose et en l'autre main avoit un ceptre et estoient en la compaignie touz les colleges et les ordres de Paris mendians et autres et toutes les gens notables qui estoient lors a Paris, prelates et autres et IIII torches devant chascune de VI heures Et apres le corps aloient a pied le duc de Bourbon frere de la dite Roïne et plusieurs autres du lignage du Roy tous vestus de noir. *Comment le corps de la Roïne fu porté a nostre Dame de Paris et lendemain a St. Denis en France a grant honneur.*

Ainsi fu portée jusques en l'église nostre Dame de Paris et la fu mis le corps en cuer d'icelle église dessoutz une mult notable chapelle de bois couverte de cierge. Et autour de la nef de la dite église avoit autres IIII torches du pois d'icelles qui avoient esté portées a convoier le corps et environ le corps avoient tousiours tant a porter le corps come en l'église, XII grosses torches qui portoient XII varles de chambre du Roy, et tantost furent vespres et vigilles de mors et menees et fist le sermone en la dite église de Paris l'evêque de Paris et tous les autres prelates tant archevêques comme évêques et albez furent reueffus avecques leurs mitres et leurs croses et estoient XV prelatz, dont les évêques de Lion et de Beaulieu (Beauvais)

tenoient cuer. Et furent toutes les lecons et vigilles dites par prelatz et la estoit present Mons. Philippe d'Alençon patriarche de Jerusalem et archevêque d'Aux lequel n'estoit pas reueffu en habit pontifical, mais estoit en chappe romaine avec les autres seigneurs du lignage du Roy, et furent tant a convoier le corps comme a vigilles la roïne Blanche la comtesse d'Artois et la duchesse d'Orléans et aussi la niece du Roy fille du duc de Berry et femme deaine de Sauvage fils du conte de Savoie et plusieurs autres dames et demoiselles tant de l'ostel de la dite roïne trespassée comme autres.

Et lundî en suivant XVI jour du dit mois environ prime fu mult solennellement la messe dite en l'église de Paris par le dit évesque de Paris presens ceulx qui avoient esté a vigilles. Et tantost que la messe fu dite, le corps fu levé et mis a chemin pour porter a St. Denis par la maniere qu'il avoit esté porté en la dite église de Paris acompaigné de ceulx qui y avoient esté le dimanche et y avoit IIII torches nouvelles, car les autres IIII qui avoient esté portées a nostre dame y demourerent et tout l'autre luminaire et aussi y ot XII grosses torches nouvelles que XII varles de chambre du roy porterent les quelles IIII et XII torches furent portées avecques le corps jusques a

\* I.e., *convrechief* — 'veil covering the head'.

practised at the initiations of the Templars. The king informed other rulers of his steps, and asked them to do likewise. He did not, however, find support everywhere. The papal court itself was greatly incensed at the independent action of the king and the inquisitor. The pope ordered Imbert and the royal officers to stop proceedings. But they did not obey. The negotiations between Philip and Clement, however, convinced the latter that the examination, though illegal, disclosed things which he could no longer ignore. The pope's belief in the innocence of the order was shaken. By this time the matter had taken such dimensions that the papal court had to conduct further proceedings. Therefore Clement issued a bull on November 22, 1307, which prescribed to all princes the arrest of the Templars, advising carefulness, shrewdness, and secrecy. The affair had become one that concerned all Christendom. Difficulties naturally arose about the disposition of the estates of the Templars. The Curia wished to apply them to the purposes originally followed by the knights. This, however, threatened to make a break between Clement and Philip. Besides, the king was suspicious that the pope might conduct the trial, if it fell into his hands, so as deliberately to extenuate the order. Such an issue would have placed the king in the greatest danger, because the Templars never would have forgotten his violent act of October, 1307. The conduct of Clement V. became the touchstone of Philip's whole policy. If the pope opposed him in any other direction, he immediately thought that he must take steps to prevent the pope from assuming further power in the matter of the Templars. The pope was just as suspicious. Whenever opposed, he fancied a connection with the trial of the order, and feared coercion. This mutual distrust gave rise to intricate negotiations, which repeatedly threatened an open breach. As in his conflict with Boniface VIII. Philip now sought to win over public opinion. In May, 1308, he induced the States-General at Tours to convict the Templars of heresy, and to condemn them to death. Nevertheless, the king did not gain his point, when he met the pope personally. The latter insisted that the illegally obtained proofs of the order's guilt could not condemn it. So Philip finally yielded, and declared that he had only temporarily attached the goods of the Templars in the interest of their security. He was now willing to hand them over to the papal administrators, and help them in the execution of their duties. At the same time the king had some Templars brought to Poitiers, that



the pope might cross-question them before a court of cardinals. Although no force was used, the truth of the charges of disgusting initiatory rites was again patent. Even Jacques de Molay and some of the other dignitaries confessed as much. Clement could no longer escape the inevitable. Finally the continuation of the proceedings was regulated by a series of compacts between the pope and king. Philip made over the order's estates to the papal officers. Henceforth the Templars were the pope's prisoners. The diocesan bishops were to carry on the investigation in their spiritual tribunals, while the final decision was reserved for a general council. Clement set this council for August 12, 1308. Archbishop Gille Aiscelin of Narbonne, a trusted servant of the king, led the investigation in Paris. The records of the committee of investigation, especially the Parisian ones, are extant only in fragments. If it appeared that the former examinations had been carried on with the aid of torture, the papal investigation, which was conducted with studied mildness, could not disprove the fact of the frequent use of revolting initiatory rites by the Templars. Nevertheless, it did not establish the guilt of the whole order. This fact, together with the efforts of the papal court to gain time, aroused new distrust in the king. Consequently he took up the prosecution against Boniface VIII. again, in March, 1310, to put a pressure on Clement V. Thereupon an independent provincial council at Sens condemned to death those Templars included in the Parisian diocese who had taken back their original confessions. The king had forty-five burned at the stake in the quarter of St. Antoine, Paris, on May 11, 1310. The papal commissioners then stopped the proceedings, but did not meet the pope's approval, for Clement did not think of rescuing the order. So nothing remained for the commissioners but to resume their task, which they completed in June, 1311, with essentially the same results as the council of Sens.

The other Christian princes had also carried out the papal mandate to investigate the state of the Templars. On the ground of the collected material, the pope was to pronounce the final sentence at a council in Vienne. On October 18, 1311, Clement V. opened the council, which was chiefly composed of French and Italian prelates. It intrusted a committee with the sifting of the accumulated material. It decided that the order would have to be heard again, because the whole body could not be adjudged of heresy on the strength of the evidence. Thus everything came to a stop once

more. The pope was not displeased, for he still mistrusted the purposes of the French king in regard to the estates of the Templars. Philip renewed his declaration that he would abide by the pope's decision, at the same time pressing the condemnation of the order. He even came in person to Vienne. Clement was in a dilemma. Convinced of the grave errors of the order, he nevertheless saw no means of inducing the council to condemn it without another hearing. But the pope finally found a way out of his difficulties. By the bull *For in excelsis* of March 22, 1312, he dissolved the order on account of the various nefarious practices of which its members had been convicted. Notwithstanding, the suits in progress before the diocesan bishops against individual Templars were to continue. On April 3 the bull was proclaimed at a solemn meeting of the council. On May 2, the bull *Ad providum Christi vicarii* followed, which transferred all the properties of the order, except the Spanish ones, to the Knights of St. John. The orders about the treatment of its former members appeared on May 6. Clement reserved the grand-master, Jacques de Molay, and some other dignitaries, for his final judgment. The provincial synods were empowered to pass sentence on the others. The acquitted were to be provided for out of the estates of the order, the guilty mildly punished. Those who persisted in denying their guilt, or even revoked their confessions, were to be dealt with according to the law. From this moment those scenes of horror began, which closed this remarkable trial, and whose effect was to cast a lurid light on the whole matter, and thus expose it to the misconception which became prevalent, namely, the innocence of the Templars.

Toward the close of 1313 Clement V. intrusted three cardinals with the conclusion of the proceedings against Molay and his fellow dignitaries. The usage of the Inquisition did not require a new hearing. It only laid the former confessions of the accused succinctly before him, and on the strength of these the court pronounced his sentence before the people in a solemn 'act of faith.' When, accordingly, the Inquisition changed the death-sentence, which was the penalty of heresy, to lifelong imprisonment for Molay and his associates, the grand master and the prior of the Norman province, Geoffrey de Charney, protested. They declared that the sentence was unjust by revoking their former confessions. True, Molay did not even now maintain that the attacked usages had never occurred. His protest and revocation aimed only at warding off the crushing

consequences which the acknowledgment of heresy would have for his order. He maintained the orthodoxy of the body, in spite of such errors as had been disclosed. But the Inquisition would not listen to such fine distinctions. Molay's and Charney's retraction made them apostatized heretics in its eyes, and delivered them up to the stake. The pope could not avert their fate. But it was doubtless an illegal interference on the king's part to have the captives executed on the very evening of their condemnation. For however clear the evidence may make the guilt of the Templars, it is just as certain that the king did not act from purely religious motives, but that political considerations led him to use the favorable opportunity to crush the Templars. Their order was then, if you will, the victim of Philip; but it was surely not a guiltless one. The inconsistency of the results of the investigation in other lands with those obtained in France has cast doubt upon the legality and genuineness of the whole trial. But we ought not to conclude that all the compromising French evidence is forged, or was pressed out by torture, of which, in fact, we know that the papal commission, at least, did not make use. We can easily explain the difference in the results of the investigations. For the incriminating usages had not entered all the ranks of the order: and then, too, the examination was not so methodical and energetic in the other countries as in France. Finally, the other princes were not actuated by the same political motives which played so large a part in the case of Philip the Fair. Thus the guilt of the Portuguese Templars was not even proved; and in Spain the episcopal proceedings ended in acquittal. In Tuscany, England, and Germany, at least no distinct condemnation followed. The few existing Scotch and Irish Templar congregations seem to have quietly dissolved.

It is not surprising that people connected the destruction of the Knights Templars with other events. It appeared as the continuation of the outrage of Anagni and the presage of the unworthy subserviency of the papacy to the French monarchy during its captivity in Avignon. The people overlooked the fact that the further development of the state was threatened by the power which the order of the Templars had gained within its boundaries. Thus Molay and his fellow-sufferers were invested with the martyr's halo, an honor which their weak inconsistency scarcely merited. The proceedings of the king and pope against them seemed so guilty in the popular imagination as to have called the wrath of Heaven upon

them. Thus men accounted for the death of Clement V., in April, 1314; and for that of the king seven months later. Future ages considered the Avignonese captivity, and the civil strife which soon racked France, as a divine retribution for the royal and papal persecution of the Order of the Temple.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE FEUDAL REACTION IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

(A.D. 1272-1328.)

THE internal rule of Philip IV. had been very stormy. He had won great successes. The crown possessed a greater power than ever before, as he had freed himself from Rome. By the recovery of Burgundy and Flanders, the king had strengthened the basis of the national state. The prosperity of the highly favored cities afforded the crown manifold sources of assistance. But a strong secret opposition continued against the king's despotism. And now his death and the insecurity of succession gave these elements freer scope for action. They delivered France up to a feudal reaction, which set it back politically, and made it a prey to the severest internal and external ravages.

Very unlike his father, Louis X. (1314-1316) took great pleasure in the frivolous pomp of chivalry, and left the government to his uncle, Charles of Valois. He not only removed, but also prosecuted, the most influential councillors and agents of the late king. He abrogated their legislation in favor of the feudal lords. Indeed, in some districts the royal jurisdiction actually had to give way again to the seignorial. Only an apparent contradiction of the feudal reaction was implied in the abrogation of serfdom on the royal estates which Louis X. carried out in the summer of 1315. After all, it was only a fiscal measure; for the serfs were forced to buy their freedom at a fixed rate, so as to fill the empty coffers of the spendthrift king and his boon companions. Still, the measure had beneficial results, in so far as it led to the further emancipation of the French peasant. On the other hand, it awakened in this class a fuller consciousness of their rights and position in the state, which prompted them to make their power felt more than before.

At his death, on June, 1316, Louis X. left a daughter, Joan, by his first queen. But she was excluded from the succession because her mother, Margaret of Burgundy, had been convicted of adul-

tery. The king's second queen, Clemence, was pregnant at the king's death. In expectation of her confinement, the younger brother of Louis, Philip of Poitiers, was intrusted with the regency. But when Clemence's son died at birth, the regent himself was made king, but not without opposition. For many of the barons were for the succession of Joan, probably because the reign of a woman promised greater scope for a feudal reaction. At the very coronation of Philip V. (1317-1322), at Rheims, the opposition protested. To be sure, there was no precedent to serve in deciding the disputed succession. According to the law of inheritance, there was no sound reason for excluding a princess who was otherwise eligible. Not entirely without reason could Philip be accused of usurpation, if the rule which applied to the descent of crown-fiefs were applied to the inheritance of the crown. For it doubtless admitted of descent to female heirs. On the other hand, the French monarchy was so essentially military, and rested so entirely on the feudal idea, that a woman seemed little fitted to fill the office of king. To remove



FIG. 152. — English armor of the first third of the fourteenth century. John Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, and second son of Edward II.; died 1334. From his monument in the chapel of St. Edmund at Westminster. (After Stothard.)

every doubt as to the legitimacy of his rule, and to legalize his coronation at Rheims, Philip V. had his acts distinctly confirmed as lawful. This took place at a meeting of the States-General in Paris, in February, 1317, at which numerous representatives of the towns appeared. The king received the oath of allegiance, and saw that the principle was proclaimed that henceforth women should be excluded from the succession in France. This is the later so-called Salic Law. However, it has nothing whatever to do with the original law of the Salian Franks, which regulated the exclusion of female heirs from inheritance in land, and was only a rule of private law. In the case under discussion, however, an important principle of state or public law was concerned.

Philip V. returned to the absolute rule of his father. He recalled his trusted councillors to the management of affairs. He expressed, in mild forms to be sure, the principle that the king was the embodiment of the state. He broke entirely with the feudalistic conception of private law in regard to the possession and rights of the crown. He soon incorporated with the crown domain the districts of Poitou and Saintonge, which he had formerly held. But he surrendered the prerogative of free disposition over crown lands, by making future grants dependent on the consent of his council. He fitted the Parlement of Paris more thoroughly for its judicial functions by entirely excluding the clerical members. Philip V. also devoted much attention to the corrupt financial system. Henceforth the right of coinage was to belong solely to the king, who was to exercise it through strictly controlled officials. But the shortness of the king's reign diminished the success of his measures. Nor did they suffice to remove the social and economic diseases from which France suffered. The masses of the still hard-pressed peasants rose in revolt, and, under the name of *Pastoureaux*, terrified southern France. Religious fanaticism and visionary socialistic schemes threw thousands of peasants and shepherds into commotion. They no longer begged, but seized alms, and formed a band of robbers, intent on going on a crusade to Palestine from a southern French port. Near Aignes-Mortes, whence they had planned to take ship, the royal troops stopped their advance, and cut them down mercilessly. An indiscriminate persecution followed.

At his death on January 3, 1322, Philip V. left only daughters. According to the new law of succession, his brother Charles, Count de la Manche, followed him. He resembled his father very much in

mind and body, and consequently he was popular. During his short reign as Charles IV. (1322-1328), the king emulated the aspiring foreign policy of Philip the Fair. In alliance with his cousins of Anjou in Southern Italy, and with the subservient pope John XXII., the king thwarted the attempt of Louis the Bavarian to renew the empire and the German rule in Italy. Besides, he fed the dissensions in Germany itself so successfully that France won great influence over its internal affairs. Charles IV. even conceived the idea of winning the German crown for himself. At any rate, France could henceforth be sure of Burgundy. The marriage of Charles with Mary of Luxemburg, the sister of King John of Bohemia, was a step of great importance for his German policy : for it allied him to the chief enemy of Louis the Bavarian. England also fell entirely under the influence of France. Charles's sister Isabella, the queen of the weak Edward II., was not slow to utilize the French influence for her own ends. When she dethroned Edward, and ruled for his son, there was every prospect that England (Fig. 152) would follow in the political wake of France, and thus make the latter state the predominant power of western Christendom.

Before that could occur, however, the death of Charles V. brought a terrible calamity on France. For at his death, on January 31, 1328, he left only a daughter. When his posthumous child proved a daughter also, his cousin Philip of Valois was made king. To this arrangement Edward III. of England raised objections, because the Salic law excluded his mother in person from the succession, but not his nor his successors' rights. But his claims scarcely deserved serious consideration. Edward himself did not at first lay stress on them, for he did not scruple to pay homage to Philip VI. (1328-1360) for his fief of Guienne. That amounted to an unconditional avowal of the hereditary rights of the Valois. But there were other claimants. There was Joan (Fig. 153) the daughter of Louis X., who was married to Philip, Count of Evreux. In a treaty which she had made with Philip V. in 1317, and which secured Champagne, Navarre, and Brie to her, she had distinctly reserved her right to the French throne. Later on the king had made her give up her land in return for a money payment. Philip VI. now made the following agreement with her and the count. They gave up their title to Champagne and Brie, but were to keep Navarre as an independent kingdom, on condition of forswearing all claims to the French succession. That quieted the claims of pretenders for the time being.



The chief cause of Edward's later claim lay in the political and economic growth of England itself, which reawakened its old national antagonism to France with the utmost violence.

Peace had finally been restored in England at the end of the reign of Henry III. In these stormy events (p. 247) the heir to the throne had played a meritorious part. Therefore Edward I. (Fig. 154) (1272-1307), who, at his father's death, was on his return from Palestine, was especially suited to reconcile the contesting parties. He put an end to the independence of the marauding Welsh



FIG. 153. — Seal of Joan, Queen of France and Navarre. Original size. (Berlin.)

(Fig. 155). When they acknowledged the English rule, Edward I. gave his son the title of Prince of Wales, which the heir-apparent to the English throne has since worn. Edward's war with the Scots proved more troublesome and changeful. In 1288 the Scotch royal house died out in Alexander III., and the throne became the bone of contention between several pretenders. Edward I. succeeded in gaining recognition for John de Baliol in 1292, for which service the latter did homage to the English king. But soon the old national hatred of the English broke out anew. While Edward was engaged in France the Scotch shook off the English rule. But the brilliant

victory of Edward at Dunbar, on April 27, 1296, subjugated them, especially after the capture of King John. Yet once more the Scots gathered strength in their impassable mountains. They found a leader in William Wallace. The division of the English forces through the French war at first enabled the Scotch to win considerable successes. England was tired of conflict, and Edward's demands for the two wars finally met resistance from Parliament. The opposition reached such a pitch that the constitutional conflict threatened a new civil war. The king and Parliament prepared for the battle when in the autumn of 1297 the terrible news came in



FIG. 151 Seal of Edward I. of England. Three-fourths original size. (Berlin.)

that the Scotch had completely defeated the English at Stirling, and were devastating the northern counties. Thereupon all parties united in a compromise, which was a great advance in constitutional government. On October 10, 1297, the *Confirmatio Chartarum* was issued in the king's name. It declared that henceforth the king could not only not exact feudal

revenues, but also customs duties, without the consent of Parliament. The king thus distinctly recognized the parliamentary right of consent to taxation, although he afterwards infringed it to some extent. On his return from France the next year Edward I. consented to the concession, by not only applying to Parliament for a grant, but by also intrusting to it the supervision of the whole administration of affairs. Nevertheless, he considered the *Confirmatio Chartarum* a dangerous diminution of his royal prerogatives, and entertained the hope of freeing himself from its fetters at the first opportunity. Meanwhile, however, he bought the willingness of Parliament to raise

greater sums for the Scotch war by wise acquiescence. He then hurried to Scotland, and defeated William Wallace at Falkirk. Fearing the king's increase of power, Parliament thereupon demanded that he repeat the confirmation of the charters. When he denied it the estates opposed Edward so doggedly at a Parliament held in London, in March, 1300, that the king had to yield. That decided the conflict between Parliament and the king, which served as a precedent to protect its rights against future encroachments. But this power might also be abused to the detriment of the lower nobility and the third estate.

That is precisely what happened at the beginning of the next century, when the feudal reaction set in. But the immediate result of the political harmony was a period of prosperity and glory which raised the national feeling and strength of the English. The troublesome French war finally reached a temporary conclusion. Gascony remained a French fief of the English crown. A double marriage between the Plantagenets and Capetians seemed to augur the confirmation of friendly relations between the two countries. This robbed the Scotch of French support; and they were consequently put down, and made to swear allegiance to the English crown. William Wallace, who had withdrawn to the northern Highlands, was finally treacherously surrendered, in 1305, and executed in England. The death of their national hero soon drove the Scotch again to armed resistance. They were led by Robert Bruce of Carrick, whose father had once tried to win the crown as the rival of John de Baliol. Bruce succeeded in throwing off the English yoke, in 1306. In March he was crowned at Scone, the old coronation place of the national kings of Scotland. Edward soon appeared to restore order, and scourged the land with a frightful invasion. Bruce succeeded in escaping, and in the spring of 1307 he was again in the field. Edward had to prepare for another campaign; but before he could begin it he died, on July 7, 1307. The Scotch could have wished for nothing better. For the distraction which the weak rule of Edward II. brought on England soon put an end to the English war, and rescued the independence of the brave mountaineers.

Edward II. (1307-1327) was entirely in the power of his favorite, Piers Gaveston, a Gascon noble, to whom the king had even given his niece in marriage. The family alliance with the Capetians led to an ever greater dependence of England on French politics. The Scotch

war ceased. After a time Edward had to remove Gaveston by making him Lieutenant of Ireland. But he soon recalled his indispensable favorite. Thereupon the nobility and clergy broke out in open revolt against him, and the king had to make a humiliating concession. Twenty-one barons were appointed Lords Ordainers to remedy all abuses, and supervise the government. The predominance of the barons soon overshadowed the power of Parliament, and threatened to throw England into new conflicts. An unsuccessful expedition

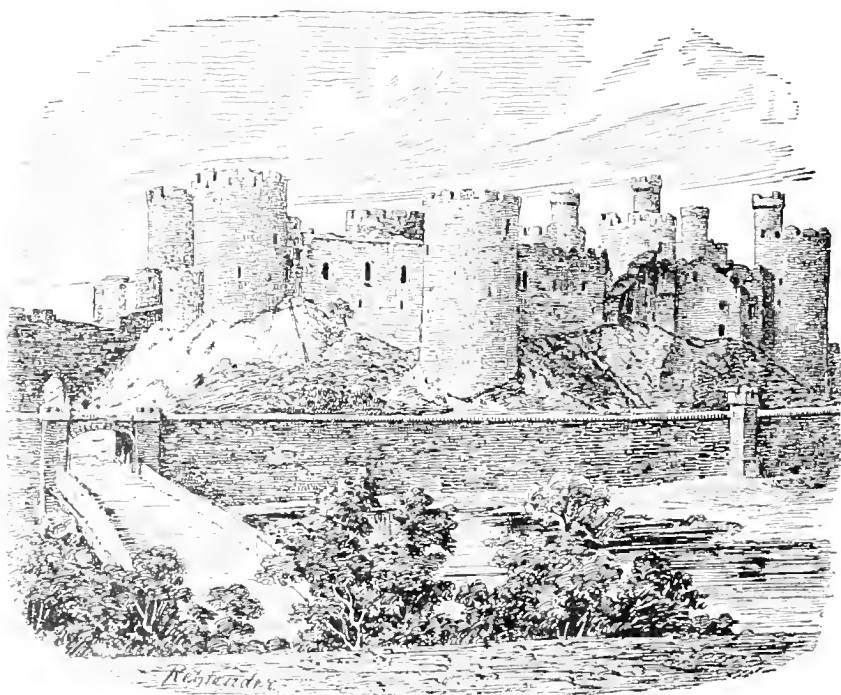


FIG. 155. — Conway Castle, in Wales. Built by Edward I. in 1284

against the Scotch hastened the crisis. At a meeting of Parliament in London, at the close of 1311, the Ordainers brought in thirty-five additional articles, which were consequently issued by that body. They were of a very dangerous nature in part. For the Lords Ordainers through them not only demanded the preservation of the old constitutional law; they went so far as to disregard the Commons, and usurped the right of binding the king in the matter of peace and war, and even in the appointment of crown officers. It was a return to a selfish aristocratic rule. The king thought he could make use of the mistake of the barons to restore the old royal power.

But he was only the worse off for the attempt. For the barons arose in arms under Thomas, Duke of Lancaster, against the defiant breach of the ordinances of 1311 by Edward II. and Gaveston. They captured the favorite and beheaded him, June 19, 1312, without the semblance of a trial. The king was saved for the present by an attack of the Scots, as the barons made terms with him in view of the danger, so as to be able to concentrate their forces in the attack upon the national foe. But Bruce beat back their invasion at Bannockburn, on June 24, 1314.

The English king was now at the mercy of his cousin, the Duke of Lancaster. But Edward was bent on freeing himself again, and on revenging himself on his enemies. His new councillors were two men of rank, Hugh le Despenser and his son of the same name. The younger Despenser became the prime favorite of the king, and naturally aroused the bitterest hatred in the opposition, which, in 1321, forced the king and Parliament to banish the Despensers for life. This was a new violation of the law, which made the clergy and Commons apprehensive of the power of the aristocratic reaction. Their interest temporarily coincided with those of the king, and so they joined in opposition to the barons. Edward defeated the rebels. Lancaster and his accomplices fled to Scotland, where Bruce gave them support at the price of his own recognition. But this treacherous alliance made them extremely unpopular at home. Early in 1322 Edward attacked the enemy at Boroughbridge, and utterly routed them. The survivors surrendered. After Lancaster and his associates had been executed, the victory of the monarchy was complete, and Edward II. seemed master of the situation more than ever. He was wise enough to be moderate at first. He obtained the revocation of the ordinances of the Ordainers, but at the same time confirmed his father's practice in regard to the composition of Parliament by a legislative act. This declared that "matters to be established for the estate of the realm of our lord the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in Parliaments by our lord the king, and by consent of the prelates, earls and barons, and commonalty of the realm, according as has been hitherto accustomed." Thus the three elements which worked together in the English constitution were put on a footing of equality.

But the difficulty was that the late events had taught Edward II. nothing. He was not sincere in his asseverations, and soon

planned a diversion in favor of monarchical centralization. He did nothing to punish the Scotch rebellion. Bruce's kingdom grew stronger, while the disaffected again sought his alliance. The position became more critical through the growing discontent in the royal house. Even Queen Isabella was deprived of her influence by the Despensers. Her discontent became more significant when her energetic brother, King Charles IV. of France, demanded that his brother-in-law should do personal homage for Gascony and Guienne. When, on his refusal, Charles abetted the enemies of



FIG. 156. — Seal of Rochester, 1350, with representation of its castle. (Royal flag, watchman, etc.) Original size. (Berlin.)

England in those districts, Isabella's position grew unbearable. Her French attendants were sent home. As she could not remove the Despensers, the queen conceived the plan of dethroning her spouse, and securing the succession to her son.

To compose the dispute between her brother and her husband, Isabella went personally to France. She induced Charles to allow the Prince of Wales to represent his father in doing the required feudal homage. Following his mother to France, he was also withdrawn from the power of her enemies. The queen now made her return dependent on the removal of the king's favorites. Thus she

became the head of the opposition, together with Roger Mortimer, who had also fled from the Despensers. Even the papal attempts at mediation failed. The ferment rose in England, and the secession from the king increased. Isabella seized her opportunity. At the head of English refugees and foreign mercenaries, she landed in England in September, 1326, where everybody joined her, and London declared in her favor. Edward II. fled to Wales. A storm hindered his escape to Ireland, and he was soon brought captive to London. The Despensers were executed; their relatives and adherents met dire punishment. The king's fate was sealed. He was

formally accused, on account of the misrule of his favorites, and deposed on January 7, 1327, by Parliament. It then proclaimed his son Edward, the unwilling associate of his mother, his successor. But he declared he would not begin to rule without his father's consent. Thus the deposed king had to submit to further humiliation. Apparently of his own free will, he pronounced his abdication in Parliament, only to be secured as a prisoner of



FIG. 157. — Seal of the barons of Faversham, one of the Cinque Ports. A ship with crew, fourteenth century. Original size. (Berlin.)

state. The path which the opposition had trodden led inevitably to regicide. On September 27, 1327, Edward II. was killed by his guards. It is impossible to say who gave the order.

Deserted by all, Edward's rule had ingloriously broken down. In the main, only the great barons had triumphed over the crown, and were now bent on exploiting their advantage unscrupulously. The associates of Thomas, Duke of Lancaster, returned to their honors and possessions. The regent Mortimer, Isabella's paramour, took the place of the Despensers, and abused his power as his forerunners had done. The government of England felt no improvement. The measures which the nation considered the most oppressive were left unchanged. In a peace with Scotland, the

ruling powers recognized the kingship of Robert Bruce, and even relinquished the English overlordship. The temper of the people changed in consequence, and expended its hatred on the all-powerful new favorite. An open breach was imminent. Edmund, Earl of Kent, and the king's uncle, seemed called upon to take the lead. But Mortimer anticipated him by bringing a charge of high treason against him, which led to his execution, and to the persecution of his family. This made the young king himself tremble. But he did not intend to become the tool of his mother's paramour, nor to give him a chance to prepare a worse fate for him. Consequently he made an alliance with Mortimer's numerous enemies, and skilfully wrought his overthrow. In October, 1330, he surprised and captured Mortimer and his friends at Nottingham. Mortimer was condemned to death by his peers, and immediately executed. Isabella remained unscathed, but had to leave the court and go into retirement. The young king now took up the reins of government, and ushered in a new period of glorious prosperity. (Cf. Figs. 156, 157.)



## CHAPTER XIX.

### HISTORY OF NORTHERN EUROPE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

THE civilization of the age of Charlemagne was already decaying when the north-German or Scandinavian tribes first entered upon history. These were split up into as many political groups as there were tribes. Fitted by their surroundings for a sea-faring life, the Norman and Danish vikings (Figs. 158, 159) had for generations been the terror of the Frankish kingdom. They had founded prosperous states on both sides of the English Channel and in Southern Italy. They had likewise settled in Byzantium, and at the beginning of the Crusades taken an active part in the affairs of Asia Minor. They had tenaciously preserved certain salient features, but had otherwise adapted themselves with surprising skill to their new surroundings, and thus developed a new and peculiar national type, which acted as a stimulus on their neighbors.

The introduction of Christianity among the northern Germans marks a decisive stage in their development. Its beginnings are coupled with the name of Ansgar, whom Louis the Pious sent out as a missionary (see p. 165). The final triumph of the mission is due to the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen. As in other countries, the change of faith in Scandinavia brought about disturbing social and political changes. Here Christianization led to the extinction of the ancient popular freedom, and of the independent life of the tribes. The old folk-freedom met with a heavy blow when the old tribal kingships disappeared in the ninth and tenth centuries, and were replaced by vast territorial kingdoms. A system of social orders similar to the Romano-German feudal system took its place in many cases. But everywhere the kingship claimed increased power, which was gradually recognized. Many emigrated who found the ecclesiastical and political innovations unbearable. This led to the remarkable settlement in Iceland, in which the primeval Germanic conceptions of law, state, morals, language, poetry,

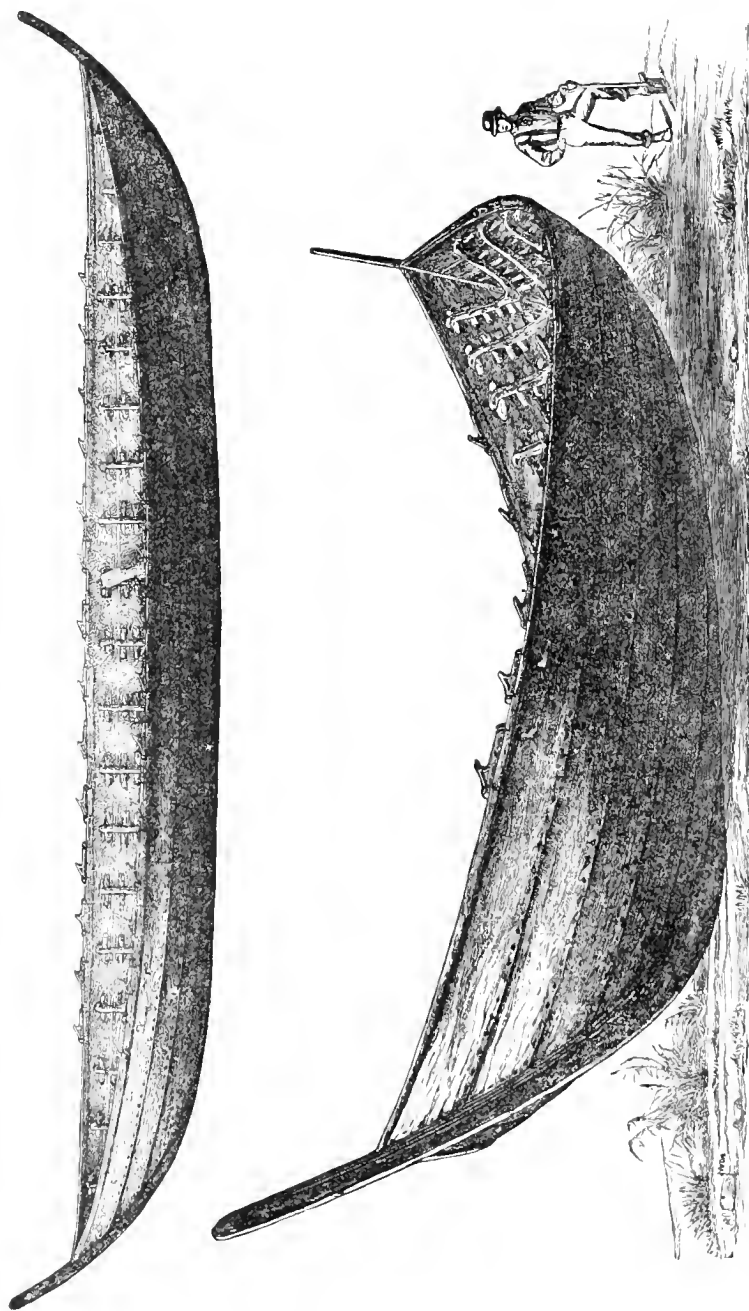


FIG. 135. — Viking ship found in the moors near Nydam, in Schleswig, on August 18, 1863, and preserved in the museum at Kiel. It is 77 ft. long from bow to stern, 10 feet 10 inches across. Built of 11 oak planks, 5 on each side, and fitted for 28 oars.

and legend were to lead such a wonderful second life far into historic times.

The Scandinavian\* invasions of the West-Frankish kingdom and of England did not come to an end until the tenth century, about the time of Henry I. of Germany. One of his contemporaries

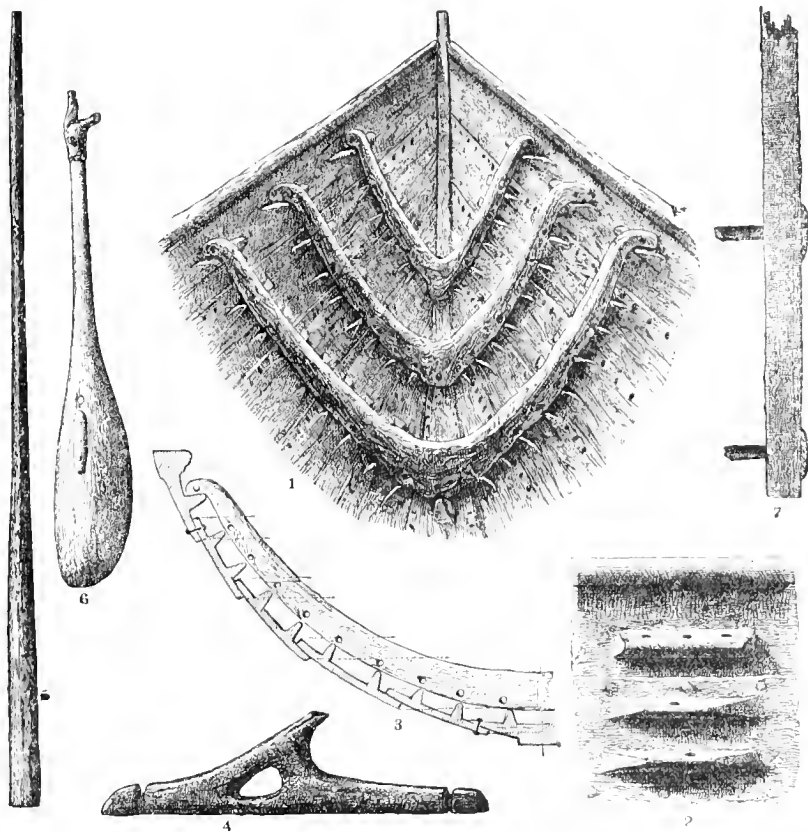


FIG. 159. — Details of the viking ship (Fig. 272): 1. Interior of the stern. 2. Inside beams. 3. Transverse section. 4. Oar-lock. 5. Oar. 6. Rudder. 7. Oak beam with iron nails. (From Engelhardt.)

was Harold Harfagr ('Fair-haired'), who died in 933. After the defeat of the provincial princes he united Norway under his sway. Another contemporary of Henry was Gorm the Old (died 936), who first gave the Danes political union, and became so dangerous a neighbor to the German king that the latter's victory over him was considered particularly glorious. It took the royal house of Yngling longer to overthrow the underkings in Sweden. Eric the

Victorians succeeded in the main in doing so in the second half of the tenth century. In this period Christianity was established in Scandinavia, but was more than once forced back by the heathen reaction. Intermittent conflicts broke out between the closely related nations. In these fierce intestinal wars the strength of paganism gradually broke down, and decided the victory of Christianity, which opened Scandinavia to the influence of the Germano-Romance civilization of the European West. The reign of Canute the Great (1014-1035), who ruled over Denmark, Norway, and England, marks a great stage in the development of the North. But the king could not insure the undivided continuance of his vast kingdom after his death. However, after he had definitely won Denmark for Christianity, the victory of that religion in the other Scandinavian kingdoms was only a question of time. Not that it immediately proved strong enough to curb the uncontrollable native savageness of the royal house: in short, at first it effected only a mixture of unreconciled old and new institutions. The history of Denmark especially bears witness to this fact.

After manifold struggles, during which Norway again became independent, Canute's nephew, Sweyn Estrithson, had succeeded to the throne of Denmark. He organized the Danish church by erecting and making provision for a native bishopric. Religiously inclined, he lacked his uncle's military virtues. His attempt to win back England proved a failure, nor could he shake off his feudal dependence on Germany. The country reaped little advantage from the rule of Sweyn's five sons. That of the youngest, Niels, was particularly disastrous to the royal house, because his son Magnus brought on a family feud by murdering his cousin, Canute Laward. The latter was the second son of the deceased king Eric Eingod. His successful administration of Schleswig, and his close alliance with the German king, Lothair, who had bestowed the land of the Wends on Canute as a fief, and crowned him king of the Abodriti, aroused the mistrust of his weak uncle Niels. His son Magnus killed Canute Laward on Christmas, 1131. Eric, the brother of the slain man, took up arms to avenge his death. In vain King Niels besought Lothair to protect him, although he rendered homage to the German king, and paid him tribute. After an enforced absence Eric appeared in Scania,<sup>1</sup> in 1134, and won a decisive victory.

<sup>1</sup> Scania is the old name for the southern extremity of the present Sweden; it was usually a part of Denmark until 1658.

Magnus fell, and Niels was afterwards slain by the enraged people of Sebleswig. Eric Emund's reign (1134-1137) was no less disastrous than his predecessor's. He was also murdered three years after his accession. A furious dynastic conflict and civil war ensued. Finally Eric III., the Lamb (1137-1147), triumphed over the rival claimants of the crown. Against his son Sweyn (1147-1157) arose the pretender Canute, the son of Magnus. The ensuing civil war threatened to split up Denmark into several small states. Conrad III. of Germany was too weak to interfere. But Saxony, under the Welf, Henry the Lion, returned to its national task of Christianizing and Germanizing the Wend provinces. In this Henry met such success that Denmark exchanged the protection of the German king for that of the Saxon duke. Thus Denmark became more of a Saxon than a German province. At the diet of Merseburg, in May, 1152, both pretenders appeared before King Frederick I.: Canute came with his protector, Henry the Lion, and Sweyn with Archbishop Hartwig of Bremen. The German king decided in favor of Sweyn, who received Denmark as a German fief. In his turn, Sweyn had to invest Canute with Zealand. Young Waldemar, the son of Canute Laward, received an independent principality in Southern Jutland. But the animosity engendered by the late bloody feuds soon set this arrangement at naught. The opposition was strongest against Sweyn. He could not ward off the Slavonic pirates, and finally preferred to buy the protection of the duke of Saxony. This disgrace was made more insufferable by the king's wastefulness. As a result, Canute and Waldemar were proclaimed kings in Jutland. When Sweyn attacked them his soldiers deserted him, and he had to flee to Germany. With the aid of the Wends and the Saxon duke he succeeded in having his lands partly restored to him. According to agreement, Sweyn was to retain Scania, but Canute was to rule in Zealand, and Waldemar on the mainland. At a festival celebrated in Roeskilde, in honor of the reconciliation, Sweyn took his two cousins by surprise. Canute was killed, but Waldemar escaped with his wounds to his Jutish followers. They rose to support their king. On his pursuing Waldemar, Sweyn was defeated in 1157, and killed in flight. Thus the twenty years' war ended, and King Waldemar I. (1157-1182) found recognition everywhere.

Waldemar was a prince of ambitious spirit, great insight and ability. He recognized the needs of his people, and was fortunate in the

choice of his means to satisfy them. His amiable personality made King Waldemar beloved, and enabled him during his long reign to restore his kingdom. As he was not strong enough to beat off the Wends, he had to accept Henry the Lion as his feudal lord. He fought as his vassal against them, only to leave almost all the conquests to the Saxon. When Waldemar conquered Rügen alone in 1168, the duke claimed half the booty, and went so far as to expose the Danish coasts to the Wends in order to enforce his claim. It was not until Henry had become embroiled with the German emperor that Waldemar could make his land more independent, and let the feudal tie fall. He found a faithful helpmate in the politic and soldierly bishop Absalon of Roeskilde, the later archbishop of Lund. From the ecclesiastical side, he furthered Danish independence, although his repressive economic measures caused a peasant revolt. It was Waldemar's policy to await developments in the struggle between Henry the Lion and Frederick I. When he saw that the Saxon was definitely crushed, he espoused the cause of the emperor, and assisted him at the siege of Lübeck. When Waldemar I. died, in 1182, he left Denmark much more powerful than he had found it.

The succession of his son Canute VI. (1182-1202), however, met with some popular opposition. But the clergy and nobility succeeded in beating it down. The old democratic forms of government began to fall into abeyance, and Denmark developed into a hereditary monarchy limited by the estates. Canute no longer recognized the feudal suzerainty of Germany. To maintain his independent position, the Danish king constantly opposed the Hohenstaufens: an instance is his joining the league of the German princes against Henry VI. to avenge the murder of the bishop of Liège. He likewise continually favored the intrigues of the Welfs for their restoration. Canute subjugated Pomerania, which Henry the Lion had failed to do, in 1184 and 1185. The king could henceforth adopt the style of a king of the Danes and the Wends. During the contest for the throne which followed the death of Henry VI. in Germany, he thought ultimately to get possession of the German districts on the right bank of the Elbe. In 1200 the Danish king made Adolphus III. of Schauenburg, the count of Holstein, surrender Dithmarschen and the strong fortress of Rendsburg. Taking advantage of the internal conflicts of the nobility of Holstein, the Danes broke into the land in the autumn of 1201, and conquered it. Adolphus was finally captured, and imprisoned in a fortress on

Zealand. Germany thus lost her trans-Elban lands; and as the counts of Mecklenburg joined Canute, the life-work of Henry the Lion was annihilated. The future of the Slavonic countries lay in the hands of the Danes, from whom the rich lands on the Baltic could now scarcely escape. The execution of these plans of conquest fell to Waldemar, a brother of the king, as he had died without leaving a son.

Waldemar II. (1202–1241), later called the ‘Victorious,’ was not only King of the Danes and Slavs. To his other titles he added that of Lord of Nordalbingia; for Count Adolphus III. finally ransomed himself by the surrender of Holstein, and the installation of a Danish garrison in Lauenburg. The German war of succession secured Waldemar in his dominions for some years. But the rise of the unified kingdom under Otto IV., after Philip’s assassination, filled the Danish king with anxiety about the maintenance of the trans-Elban lands. By a skilful stroke of diplomaey he went over to Otto, who, unmindful of national interests, recognized the Danish right to these lands, and made them independent of the empire. The Baltic seemed about to become a Danish sea. Waldemar’s crusade against the Esthonians, in 1219, resulted in the conquest of an important post on the east of the Baltic. To be sure, the king’s national schemes of conquest did not achieve such lasting results as the order of the Brothers of the Sword were then winning in Livonia and the neighboring provinces, or the Order of Teutonic Knights achieved later in heathen Prussia. It was a blessing for the German kingdom in its intestinal disorders, that the flower of German chivalry could take into its hands the propagation of Christianity and civilization in these districts. The German knights and nobility also called a halt on the Danish power, and rescued the Elbe lands and Pomerania, which the crown itself had forfeited. It was Count Henry of Schwerin, however, who took the final step. He captured the Danish king by stratagem, and recovered his land; then, together with the other East-German princes and counts, he gained a decisive victory over the Danish king at Bornhöved. Holstein, too, now returned to Count Adolphus IV. of Schauenburg; and the German ports, above all Hamburg and Bremen, rose to new prosperity. For centuries the German element predominated in the Baltic provinces.

This predominance was completely assured by the decay of the Danish power. Waldemar II., who had spent his last years in

enacting beneficial legislation, died in very old age in 1241. His second son, Eric, called 'Ploughpenny' (1241-1250), succeeded. His oppression enraged the peasants and clergy, especially as his forced subsidies did not lead to victory. Consequently his position soon became dangerous, on his falling out with his brother Abel. The latter had received Schleswig from his father; and his father-in-law, Adolphus IV. of Schauenburg, conferred the regency in Holstein on him at his retirement to a monastery. He strenuously defended the four sons of Adolphus against the claims of the Danish king.



FIG. 160. — Seal of Queen Margaret of Denmark. Legend: MARGARETA · DEI · GRACIA · DANORVM · SCLAVORVM · Q [ue] REGINA †, attached to a charter dated September 29, 1274. The queen kneels before the Virgin. (Royal archives, Stockholm.)

At a meeting in Rendsburg, Abel had his brother seized and put on shipboard. Here Waldemar was murdered. A few months later Abel celebrated his coronation in Roeskilde, on which occasion representatives from the Danish cities first appeared with the clergy and nobility. Abel sought to strengthen his throne by a popular government. Consequently his short reign (1250-1252) was beneficial to a constitution which was soon to be tested. For after Abel had been slain in a battle with the Friesians, and his son had been made captive by the archbishop of Cologne, on his return from his studies at Paris, the Danish magnates chose the late king's brother, Christopher, as his successor. His reign (1252-1259) was very turbulent on account of his fierce conflict with the clergy.

During its course the archbishop of Lund excommunicated the king, and laid the interdict on Denmark. The ensuing ecclesiastical distress drove the hard-pressed peasants to armed revolt. In the midst of the terrors of a peasants' war the king suddenly died in 1259. It was rumored that a fanatical priest had administered poison to him in the eucharist. Nevertheless, the regent Margaret (Fig. 160), his mother, secured the succession to her minor son. The struggle with the episcopate was concluded only by the death of the archbishop



of Lund in 1274. Notwithstanding, the crown had forfeited its influence over the church, which rose to proud independence with the nobility. In the ensuing war with his brother Eric, who claimed Schleswig by right of inheritance, the king and his mother were long held captive by the rebels. They stripped the king more and more of his rights and domains, while his chief officials gradually formed an almost independent council.

When King Eric, in November, 1285, was assassinated, his minor son, Eric Menved, was allowed to succeed. But the latter, in turn, was soon subjected to humiliation by the unhappy outcome of a war, to which the escaped murderers of his father had incited the Norwegian king. The king's struggle with John Grand, archbishop of Lund, was still more disastrous. After having escaped from prison, the archbishop invoked the aid of Boniface VIII. The pope decided against the king. On Eric's refusal to submit to the pope's arbitration, Boniface excommunicated him, until he finally submitted. A Norwegian war, which Eric had undertaken in behalf of the expelled Swedish king, Birger II., ended in disgrace, and only led to further alienations of the crown domain and to oppressive taxation. The king's attempt to reduce the German Baltic provinces also proved a failure.

Accordingly, when the king died, in 1319, he left his office stripped of esteem and power. As he had left no sons, the feudal nobility found convenient means for extending their influence in the coming election. To secure their innovations, they had to promise the cities and peasants a part of the spoils wrung from the crown. For Eric's brother, Christopher II. (1320-1326), had to buy his election with a formal capitulation, which recognized as legal the existing narrow limitations of the royal office. Every succeeding king was to be bound to confirm them. This charter of January 10, 1320, not only confirmed to the clergy its rights and liberties, but also made the levying of tithes dependent on its consent, and established its exemption from temporal jurisdiction. The charter freed the nobility from the duty of foreign military service, and confirmed all its rights as against its subjects and vassals. The king's right to make war was to be conditional on the consent of the clergy and nobility. The enfeoffment of Germans, and their admittance into the royal council, were prohibited, as well as the granting of church offices to foreigners. The concessions which the charter made to the burghers and peasants were

naturally much more meagre. It promised the former undisturbed trade and security from illegal dues. The latter got protection from the oppression of royal bailiffs and the abrogation of unjust services. In general this Danish *Magna Charta* contained the guaranty of justice on the basis of the law of the land. To secure this, an appeal was to lay from the king's court to the diet as the highest court. Henceforth new laws were to be issued only with the consent of the prelates and nobles in parliament assembled. Thus the feudal reaction made itself felt even in the north, and reduced the royal office to dependence.

The two other Scandinavian countries play a less important part in the history of the time. Much later than in Denmark, the monarchical principle triumphed over the remnants of the primeval German organization. The descendants of Harold Harfagr had many conflicts for the crown of Norway. Repeatedly several ruled the whole kingdom conjointly, or divided it according to the old racial divisions. The result was a constant diminution of the royal right, which gave the clergy especially a disproportionate predominance. After King Magnus, at the end of the twelfth century, had fixed by law that the prelates should decide which of the royal princes should ascend the throne, two parties arose. The clergy and their adherents formed the so-called 'Baglers': i.e., crozier bearers. The national party, on the other hand, took the name of 'Birch-legs.' For almost a century these parties rent the country with their antagonism. When the clergy lost its predominance, in the second half of the thirteenth century, order finally returned. This enabled royalty to rise again from the days of King Hakon V., 'the Old' (1217-1263), who added Greenland and Iceland to his domains. About the same time the German Hanseatic merchants settled in Bergen, which became the foremost northern trading-centre. Hakon's son, Magnus VI. (1263-1280), secured the restored order by introducing the principle of primogeniture in the succession. But still the prelates formed a sort of state within a state, because they were not only exempt from all temporal jurisdiction and military duties, but also had the exclusive appointment of their bishops and other officers. The son of Magnus, Eric (1281-1299), first put an end to this evil. He forced the clergy to pay him homage, and to render their share of military duties. Eric was followed by his son, Hakon VI. (1299-1319), who was the last of the house of Harold Harfagr. By opening the succession to the female line,

with the consent of the diet, he paved the way for the future union of Norway and Sweden.

The history of Sweden to the close of the thirteenth century consists of a long line of civil conflicts, feudal struggles, and throne revolutions. Here, too, the primary result was the irksome predominance of the warlike nobility, which curtailed the royal power as well as the old freedom of the lower classes. Even the mighty jarl (earl) Birger, who had virtually ruled Sweden for his brother-in-law, Eric Ericson, and after the king's death without issue in 1250 had had his own eldest son, Waldemar (1251-1275), proclaimed king, could not establish lasting peace. Birger died in 1266, after he had laid the foundation of the later Stockholm, and opened up Swedish trade by the admission of the German Hanseatic League into Sweden. Thereupon the younger brothers of Waldemar rose against him, and drove him to Norway in 1275. While trying to regain his kingdom, the Swedish king fell into the hands of his brothers, who made away with him. King Magnus (1275-1290) held his own against the noble insurgents only by force and treachery. He sought to curb them through severe laws and particularly to shield the peasants from them. With this in view he tried to raise the position and influence of the church. When he died, he appointed the marshal Torkel Cnudson regent for his minor son, Birger. After Birger II. (1290-1317) had begun to rule, Torkel remained the most influential man about the throne. Sweden now advanced rapidly. Finland was conquered and Christianized. But the taxes which these wars necessitated weighed heavily on the people. The younger brothers of the king used the prevalent discontent to raise a rebellion which brought about the dismissal of the all-powerful marshal. Soon after the king was taken by treachery, but released at the request of his brother-in-law, King Eric Menved of Denmark. The conflict soon broke out anew, and Birger II. had to concede the independent rule of certain districts to his brother, and be content with the royal title. But he planned revenge. Instigated by his Danish queen, he surprised Eric and Waldemar in 1317, and let them starve to death in prison. This deed caused a general uprising, which drove Birger to Denmark. His accomplices were killed by their enemies, who did not spare the king's son. A diet, consisting in part of representatives from the cities and peasantry, then made Magnus, the three-year-old nephew of Birger, king. Through his mother he was a grandson of Hakon of Norway, which gave him hereditary claims to that kingdom.

Since the feudal dependence of Denmark on Germany had fallen into abeyance, the influence of German civilization was brought to bear on the northern kingdoms more and more by the North-German seaports. Their confederation, which reached far into the interior, was called the Hanseatic League. Hamburg and Lübeck had set the example, in 1241, by making an alliance to protect trade and commerce in the district between the Elbe and Trave. The origin of the Hanseatic League, however, is shrouded in darkness. It seems that several city confederacies, bound together by community of foreign trade, gradually coalesced into the one great league. Its name, *Hansa*, did not come into use until the middle of the fourteenth century. Originally this name belonged only to the Cologne merchants who, under Henry III., established a factory or 'gildhall' in London. For a time Cologne retained its leading position; and its allied Westphalian cities, together with the Prussian ones, formed a separate group of the Hanseatic League. Lübeck formed a second group, at the head of the Wendish and Pomeranian cities. Wisby, at the head of the cities of Livonia, formed the last one. But Lübeck surpassed all the other cities of the League. It was the chief market of the Baltic coast as early as the thirteenth century. For all the interior towns were dependent on it. This found expression in the almost universal acceptance of the Lübeck code of laws. Even the Prussian city of Kulm adopted this code in a modified form which spread to the extreme northeast. The unity of legal conceptions rising therefrom contributed largely to strengthen the community of the cities based on their economic life. This bound especially Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund and Greifswald, Stettin, Anklam, Stargard, Demmin, and Kolberg to Lübeck. The tie spread later to Dantzic, Dirschau, Elbing, Braunsberg, Königsberg, Memel, and other towns. Wisby, on the island of Gothland, was at this time the most important centre of the Baltic trade. As early as 1225, long before the origin of the Hanseatic League, a corporation of German merchants existed there. It was the oldest of its kind, and was later called the Gothlandic Corporation. German merchants had also settled in Riga, the chief town of Livonia. Thence they had penetrated the interior of Russia, where the Gothlandic Corporation had an important staple at Peterhof. But toward the close of the thirteenth century this body gradually lost its leading position in that quarter. This fell to the rising power of Lübeck, which stepped to the head of the Hanseatic League. It now exercised fully the

rights and duties of its position. It called the meetings, or "Hanse-days," of the League, and directed their proceedings. Likewise it carried on correspondence and negotiations, in the name of the League, with foreign powers. These meetings regulated all the internal affairs of the Hanseatic League, such as commerce, and also had legislative functions. Short records of the proceedings were kept, which grew in fulness with the increased importance of the body. They were later known as the *Hansarezesse*, and are a precious source of the history of this remarkable union, which alone made the German name respected abroad during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The Scandinavian countries especially, which were not as yet in a position to utilize their rich resources through their own energy, finally fell into economic and political dependence on the militant German merchants. In Sweden, into which the Jarl Birger (see p. 375) first admitted the Hanseatic League, Stockholm soon became its chief centre. On the coasts of Scania its merchants had profitable fisheries. In Denmark the German merchants first settled in Copenhagen in the street which still bears their name. They also had stores in various neighboring places. In Norway the centre of the League was at Bergen. At first Cologne had had a large part of the English trade. But later on the towns on the North Sea, and especially Hamburg and Bremen, competed with it. Hamburg finally surpassed them all. In London the stores and dwellings of the salesmen of the League were called the Steelyard, and lay between the Thames and Thames Street. These merchants, who had to be unmarried, and fell into groups of masters and apprentices, lived according to a monastic rule. They enjoyed the special favor of the English kings, who granted them all sorts of privileges and liberties, asking in return only for their support in case of an attack on London. The Hanseatic League had similar stations in Ipswich, Yarmouth, Norwich, Lynn, Boston, Hull, and York. They also took root in Ireland and Scotland. After Lübeck came to represent the League, the German Baltic towns took a more active part in the English trade. Thus the leading rôle, first of Cologne and then of Hamburg, was transferred more and more to Lübeck. The connection of the League with the Netherlands, and especially Flanders, was no less profitable. Here, again, Cologne had at first had the greatest share, but in the second half of the thirteenth century Hamburg and Lübeck became strong com-

petitors here also. The chief Hanseatic settlement in Flanders was Bruges, which continued for some time to be the most important European trading-centre north of the Alps. The League also had stores in Ghent, Antwerp, Dinant, Ypres, and Damme.

The Baltic and North Seas were really German seas at that time. Not only Russia, but also Scandinavia and England, were in commercial and maritime dependence on the German merchant. That such a powerful combination as the Hanseatic League could arise, throws a peculiar light on the condition of the declining empire. It led to relations which are quite impossible in a well-organized state. It was nothing unusual for imperial cities to make independent treaties with foreign powers, and the princes of the empire did the same. Now, some towns also belonged to the Hanseatic League which were subject to a prince, and consequently ought to have been represented by him. But these towns acted as independently as their fellows. Nothing but conflict could ensue between the towns and their lords, and widen the old gulf between the citizens and the feudal powers. This appeared nowhere more strikingly than in the state which the Teutonic Order had founded in Prussia. This religious military order completed the benefits conferred on the northeast of Europe by the Hanseatic League.

The Teutonic Order was founded at a time when the crusading spirit was at its height in Germany. It had entered the competition too late to achieve the success of the Knights Templars or those of St. John in Palestine. But it was this fact which enabled it to preserve its original spirit, and fulfil its double mission. For this order was characterized still more than the other military ones by that strange amalgamation of chivalry and monasticism which determined its direction and success. Thanks to this quality and to its far-seeing grand masters, this order succeeded in founding an epoch-making civic organism. The original dependence of the Teutonic Knights on the Hospitallers soon fell into abeyance. Confirmed by Pope Innocent III., in 1199 the order first sought to gain a foothold in the Holy Land.

Through grants, exchange, and sale it acquired considerable lands in the neighborhood of Beirut, Toron, and Acre. To the northeast of the last-named city it erected among the hills its strongly fortified chief seat, Montfort, or Starkenberg. The difficulties of its early conditions explain the diligence of its administration, which afterwards enabled the order to win its successes.

But its future did not lie in the East, even if it were possible to hold up the tottering Christian rule against the onslaughts of the infidel.

The third grand master of the Teutonic Order, Hermann von Salza (1211–1235), the friend and counsellor of Emperor Frederick II., recognized this. Therefore he sought another scene, where the knights might devote themselves to the crusade against the heathen. Just about this time Conrad, duke of Masovia in Poland, sought aid against the heathen Prussians. For the attempts of the Cistercian monastery of Oliva to convert the warlike race beyond the Vistula had had no lasting results. As a reward, the duke offered the Order the district around Kulm, generally called Kulmland. Its conquests were to be ruled solely by the Order. After an examination of Kulmland, Hermann von Salza accepted the duke's proposal, and had the emperor and pope solemnly ratify the grant. Then he sent a detachment of knights, in 1228, under his representative, Hermann Balk, to the lands of the Vistula. From the castle of Vogelsang, on its left bank, they began their skirmishes. Not until 1232 did they settle on the right, or Prussian, bank of the Vistula. On its heights they erected their first fortress, Toron, the present Thorn. Many other names of places familiar to the Order in Palestine were in like manner given to Prussian towns. In 1234 the re-enforced knights won a great victory over the Prussians, near the river Sorge. Soon many crusaders who preferred to fight nearer home joined the settlement of the Order. They were generally used for greater invasions, during which the invaders hastily built strongholds. From these as a centre the garrisons remaining gradually subjugated their neighbors. Thus the conquest of Pomesania was directed from Marienwerder. Following the course of the Vistula, the knights invaded Pogesania, and there built the chief stronghold of the Order, Elbing, from which the neighboring Frisches Haff offered convenient communication with the east. On its coast arose the mighty towering castle of Balga, from which southern Ermland was brought under the yoke of the Teutonic Order. The basis for its later conquest of Samland was Königsberg, which was built above the valley of the Pregel. In the extreme northeast, near the outlet of the Kurisches Haff into the Baltic, the Order erected Memel as a defence against the wild hordes of the robbing Samaites.

Starting from Kulmland, the Teutonic Order conquered Pomesania, Pogesania, and Ermland, in 1239. Its progress in the other districts seemed already to make the victory of the Order sure, when,

in 1242, the first general revolt of the Prussians broke out. The fact that also its western neighbor, Svantopluk of Pomerellen, joined the insurgents, and threatened to cut off its communication with Germany, at times put the Order in a critical position. Only a tedious war reduced the six revolted provinces to subjection again. Christianity made more rapid progress through the erection of bishoprics for Kulmland, Pomesania, Ermland, and Samland. The capital of the Order (Figs. 161 and 162) was the castle at Elbing, where a 'land master' dwelt, as representative of the grand master (Fig. 160), who lived in Palestine. Continual conflicts went hand in

hand with the slow colonization of the country through German immigrants. From the middle of the thirteenth century they were directed chiefly against the Samaites and their southern neighbors the Lithuanians. The latter threatened the very foundations of the Order once more. The victory of the Lithuanian prince, Mindvog, in the summer of 1261, was the signal of a new general uprising of the Prussians. The unanimity and suddenness of the revolt caused the state of the Order to be overrun for the moment. It had to give up all its provinces with the exception of its most important



FIG. 161. — Obverse of the seal of the grand master of the Teutonic Order. Original size. Legend: S[igillum]: MAG[ist]RI: GENERAL: HOSPITAL: S MARIE: THEVT: IERLMTAN [Jerusalemiani]. Appended to a charter dated July 13, 1397. Archives of the Council of Esthonia. (Toll collection.)

fortresses. As its forces were insufficient to crush the uprising, Germany sent a crusading army for its support. The Order found it the harder to overthrow the rebels because Mestwin, the duke of Pomerania, made common cause with them. The German knights had fought for their existence almost a decade when the victories of the marshal of the Order, Conrad von Thierberg, turned the scale in their favor. In 1272 Pomesania was subjugated again. To secure communication with Pomesania and Kulmland, and the thoroughfare from the Vistula through the Nogat to the Haff, the Order began the erection of the castle of Marienburg, in 1274, on the heights above the right bank of the Nogat. But another decade was to pass



before the subjugation was completed, under the land master Mangold von Sternberg. The nature of the contest had almost depopulated the land. Most of the remaining people retreated to the impenetrable forests and swamps. Still fewer nobles made peace with their masters, so as to retain their old possessions or receive new ones. The task of the Order now consisted in introducing inhabitants into the conquered districts who might lay the basis of a new and higher civilization. This was done in various ways. Some of the German crusaders simply remained and received estates, for which they pledged themselves to perform certain military duties. Then, again, other German noblemen stayed on the same footing, and formed a sort of provincial nobility. The peasant population had also to be revived through immigration from the west. As a general thing, the Order transferred enough land for the founding of a village to an agent, or *locator*. It set the terms on which he was to proceed in dealing out this land to peasants whom he was to attract himself. In return for his labors, the Order gave him a manor, and made him bailiff of the village. Generally these villages were ruled by the code of Kulm (see p. 376). Thus the wasted land filled up with hundreds of flourishing villages, whose peasants reaped rich harvests. The superfluous grain became an important article of export, most of it being sent to England. But the cities also grew, under the careful administration of the Order. Besides the oldest towns, Thorn and Kulm, many others sprang up in the thirteenth century, and were filled with German craftsmen and merchants, who received quite extensive privileges on the basis of the code of Kulm.

Thus the Teutonic Order had become the lord of the land, and as such had its rights and duties. But it still preserved its old half-military, half-monastic form, only that it naturally changed somewhat. This made necessary a modification of its rule, which was originally the same as that of the Templars, and, though revised about the middle of the thirteenth century, had become unsuited to the conditions under which the Order lived. It is the more wonderful, therefore, how, out of the simple organization of the Teutonic



FIG. 162. — Seal of the land marshal of Livonia. Original size. Obverse: SIGILLUM MARSCHALI DE LIVONIA. Attached to a charter, dated October 8, 1348. (Archives of the Council of Reval.)

Order, a system of government was evolved which satisfied the severest demands. The whole body of the knights henceforth were the officials who ruled the new colony. The Land Master, the Commander-in-chief, the Warden of the Hospital, the Marshal, and the Treasurer became the heads of the most important branches of the administration. The whole district was divided into about twenty commanderships. The commander of the respective religious house

of the Order was the governor of his district, and the knights who belonged to the convent were his officials. Thus a bureaucracy sprang up beyond the Vistula which was unique in that every ruler was a servant at the same time. This fact made the commonwealth possible, and explains the brilliant results achieved by the rule of the Order. The manner in which the Order excluded the interference of the church in its affairs is also highly characteristic. It not only foiled the attempt of the archbishop of Riga (Fig. 163) to bring Prussia under his ecclesiastical rule, but even invaded his proper sphere by its coalition with the Livonian order of the Brothers



FIG. 163. — Seal of John II. von Vechten, archbishop of Riga. Obverse: JOH[ann]ES DEI GRA[tia] S[an]c[t]e RIGEN[sis] ECCL[esi]e ARCHIEP[iscopu]s TERCIVS †. Impression on red wax of a green matrix, appended to a charter dated February 5, 1294. Original size. (Public Library of St. Petersburg.)

of the Sword. In the long run it was not compatible with the interests of the Teutonic Order to have its chief seat in Palestine. In 1302, the Grand Master, Gottfried von Hohenlohe, had already proposed, at a meeting of the General Chapter in Memel, the removal of the residence of the Grand Master of the Order to Prussia. When his proposal was rejected, he voluntarily laid down his office, but was still considered the head of the body by the knights in Germany. In Prussia, Siegfried von Feuchtwangen, Hohenlohe's chief oppo-

ment, henceforth ruled the Tentonic Order. Disruption was imminent, which gave the archbishop of Riga another opportunity to attempt the expulsion of the knights from Livonia. Events had shown that Gottfried von Hohenlohe had been right. Consequently, in 1309, the Order resolved on the removal of the residence of its Grand Master to Prussia. They selected Marienburg, which had

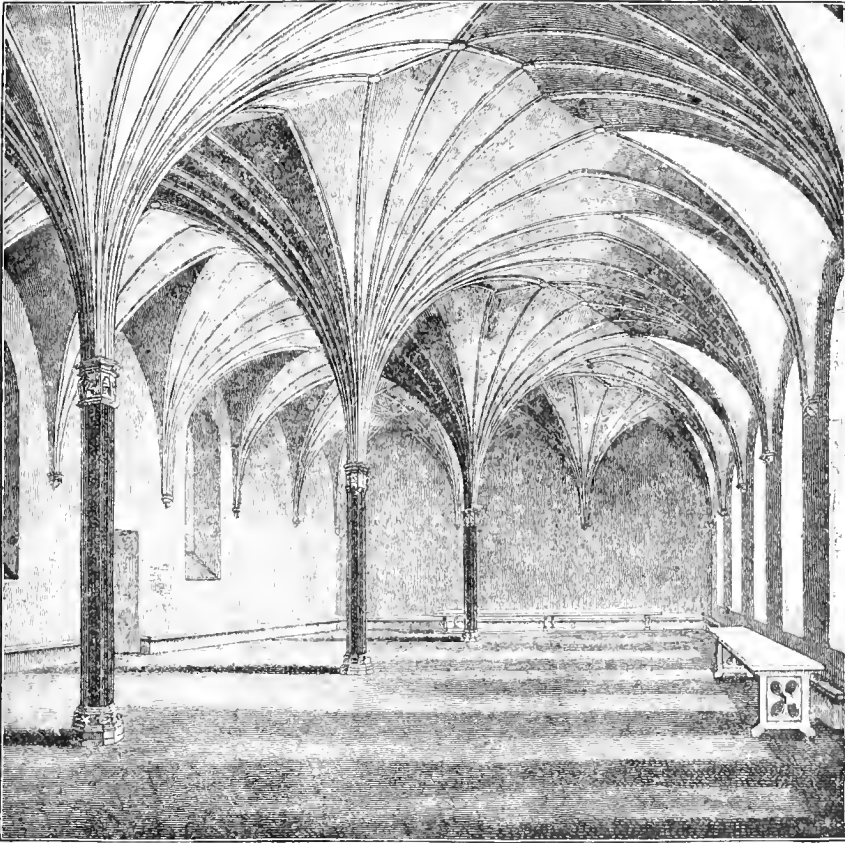


FIG. 164. — The great refectory in Marienburg Castle, built about 1330-1340. (Förster.)

the best possible location. The castle was completed to serve as an official residence (Fig. 164). About this time the ducal house of Pomerellen became extinct. Thereupon Margrave Waldemar of Brandenburg advanced his hereditary claims to the succession, but the Tentonic Order took the part of a Polish pretender against him. It conquered Dantzie for its protégé, but fell out with him later, and

drove him out of Pomerellen. Then it bought out Waldemar's claims, and added this important district on the left bank of the Vistula to its territory. The Order now finally ruled the lower course of that river completely. Thereby it had direct communication with Germany, and completely rounded off its state.

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE CONQUESTS OF THE MONGOLS AND TURKS, THE DOWN- FALL OF THE CALIFATE, AND THE DECLINE OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

THE old civilized states to the east of the Mediterranean became the victims of great political upheavals from the end of the thirteenth century. The destructive storm of innumerable conquerors swept over and submerged both the most cultured and the rudest nations in that quarter.

In the western highlands of the interior of Asia, the Mongolians (Fig. 165) had lived from time immemorial. They were a race of nomads, split up into many tribes, each under its own ruler, and seeking sustenance wherever they could find it. In the course of the twelfth century the so-called Golden Horde won a kind of supremacy over the other Mongolian bands. To this race belonged one Temuchin, who succeeded his father as its ruler. But he was not recognized by the other tribes, and was expelled. The Koraites on Lake Baikal entertained him until he became powerful enough to replace his protector, Toli. He then led an army against his own people, which he again subjugated to his terrible rule. Thereupon all the Mongol hordes, and their neighbors, the Turkomans, in 1206, made Temuchin their 'supreme ruler,' or 'Jenghiz Khan.' Although he introduced certain religious and civil laws of general application, his people were yet far from united. Only the promise of foreign conquest combined them temporarily. This conquering spirit became the ruling principle of the state. Indifferent to all religious questions, the Mongols distinguished themselves by their tolerance in an age of religious fanaticism. On the other hand, mercy to the conquered was foreign to a race which condemned the sparing of a subjugated people as unmanly. Like the Huns, they seemed a scourge sent by God to punish the degenerate world. But even the threatened extermination of Christendom did not induce the western European nations to cease from their baneful internal strife.

At first Temuchin, now known as Jenghiz, led the Mongolian hordes eastward. He conquered and wasted China from 1209 to 1215, and assimilated its higher military art. Then the mighty realm of the Khwarismians succumbed to him, and its shah had to seek refuge on an island in the Caspian. His son, Cheladdin, fled to his eastern boundaries on the Indus, where he continued the heroic fight. But finally he fell a prey to Mongolian revenge in 1231,

after an unsuccessful battle. Wherever the hordes were successful, Asiatic barbarism held sway on the ruins of the old civilization. When Temuchin died in 1227, his progeny carried on his conquests, although he had divided the empire. His grandson, Batu, received the lands north of the Caspian Sea, between the Volga and the Ural Mountains. His second son, Jagatai, inherited most of Turkestan: his fourth son, Tuli, received Persia. His third son, Okaï, succeeded him, and ruled as suzerain the whole empire (PLATE XIV.) from the Euphrates to the Indus, and from the slopes of the Iranian highlands in the south, to the northern Asiatic steppes. He made Karakoram, the old capital of the Koraites, his residence.

While after his death the rest of

the Khwarismian kingdom, Georgia, Armenia, and the land of the Seljuks fell under Mongolian power, Batu undertook an invasion of Europe with the main force. After overcoming the White Bulgarians he smote the Russians.

On the Germanic migrations turning to the southwest, a complex mixture of Slav races had settled in the vast lowlands of Eastern Europe. They were politically disunited and involved in endless feuds. Consequently, the story goes, they applied to some Scandinavian adventurers for help about the middle of the ninth century.

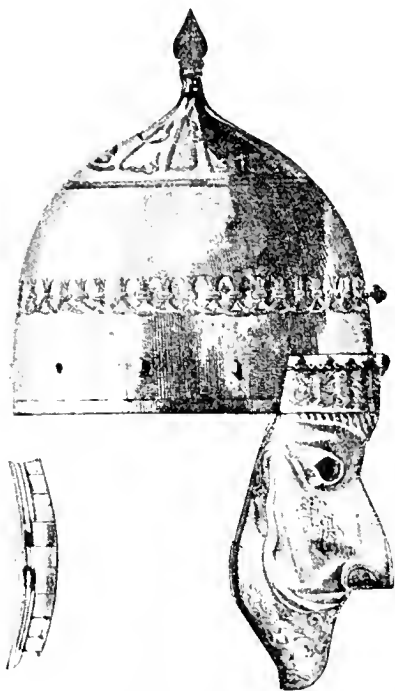
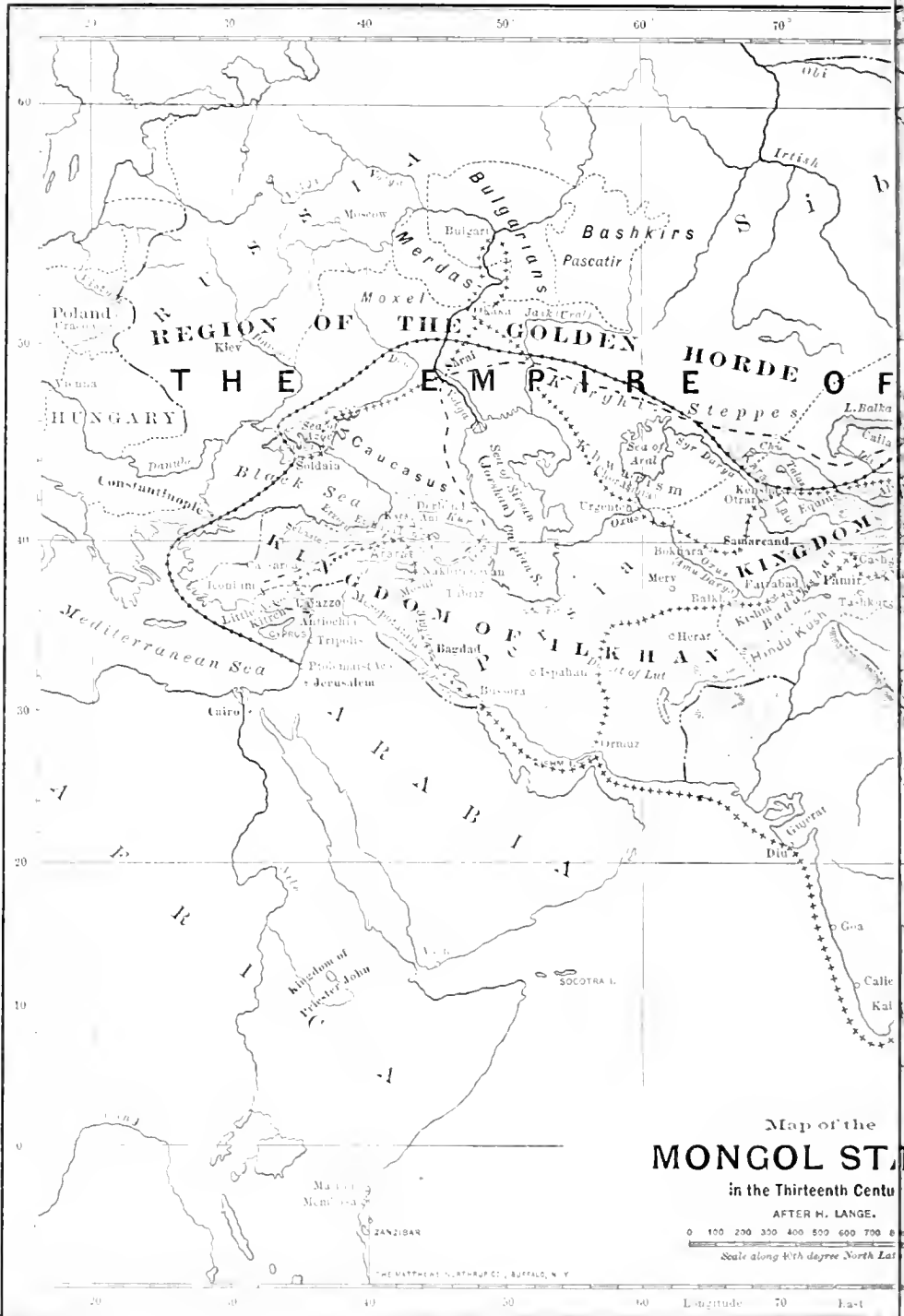


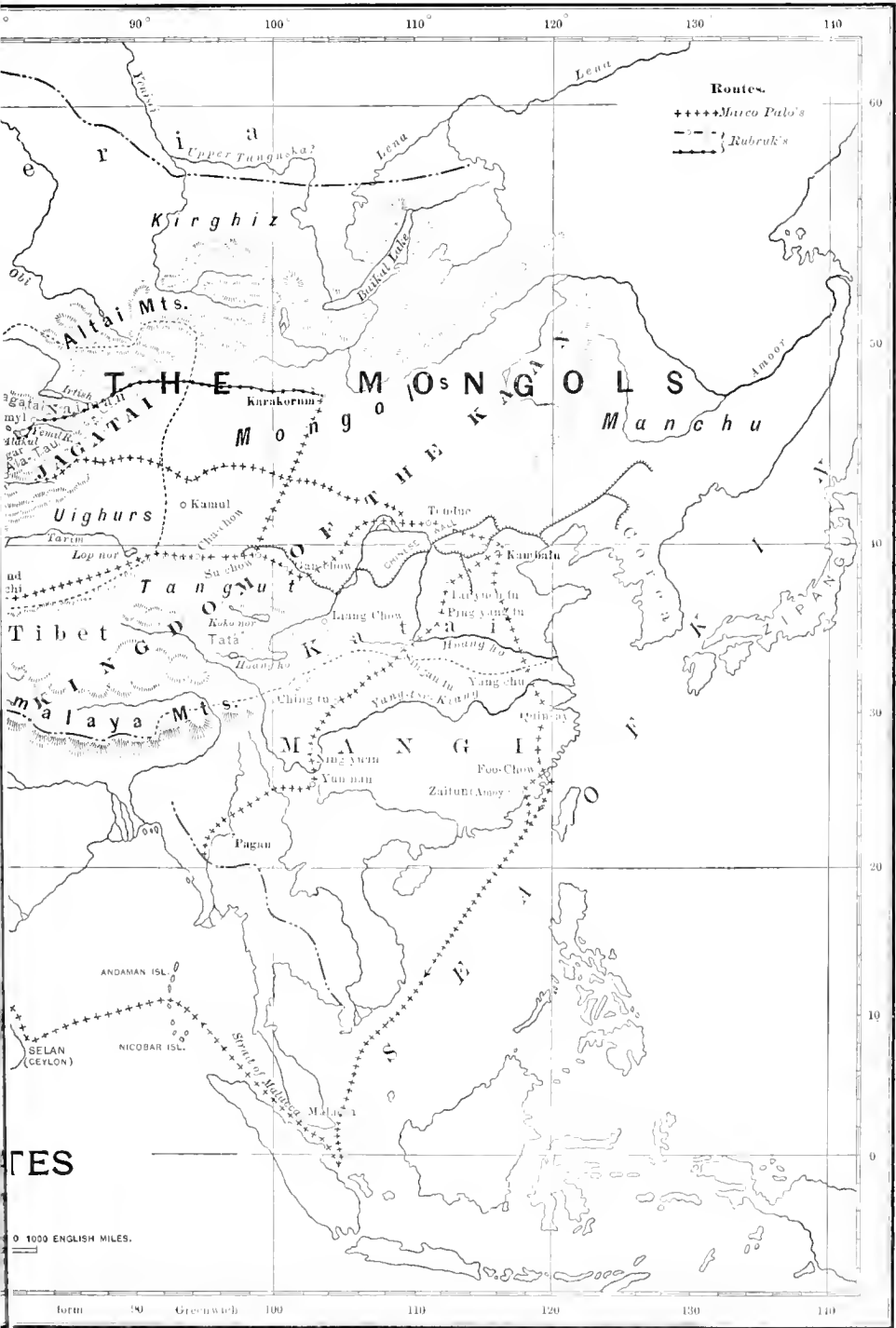
FIG. 165 Mongolian iron helmet, with gold chasing and Arabian inscription. Moscow, Kremlin.





Map.—The Mongol States  
(After H.

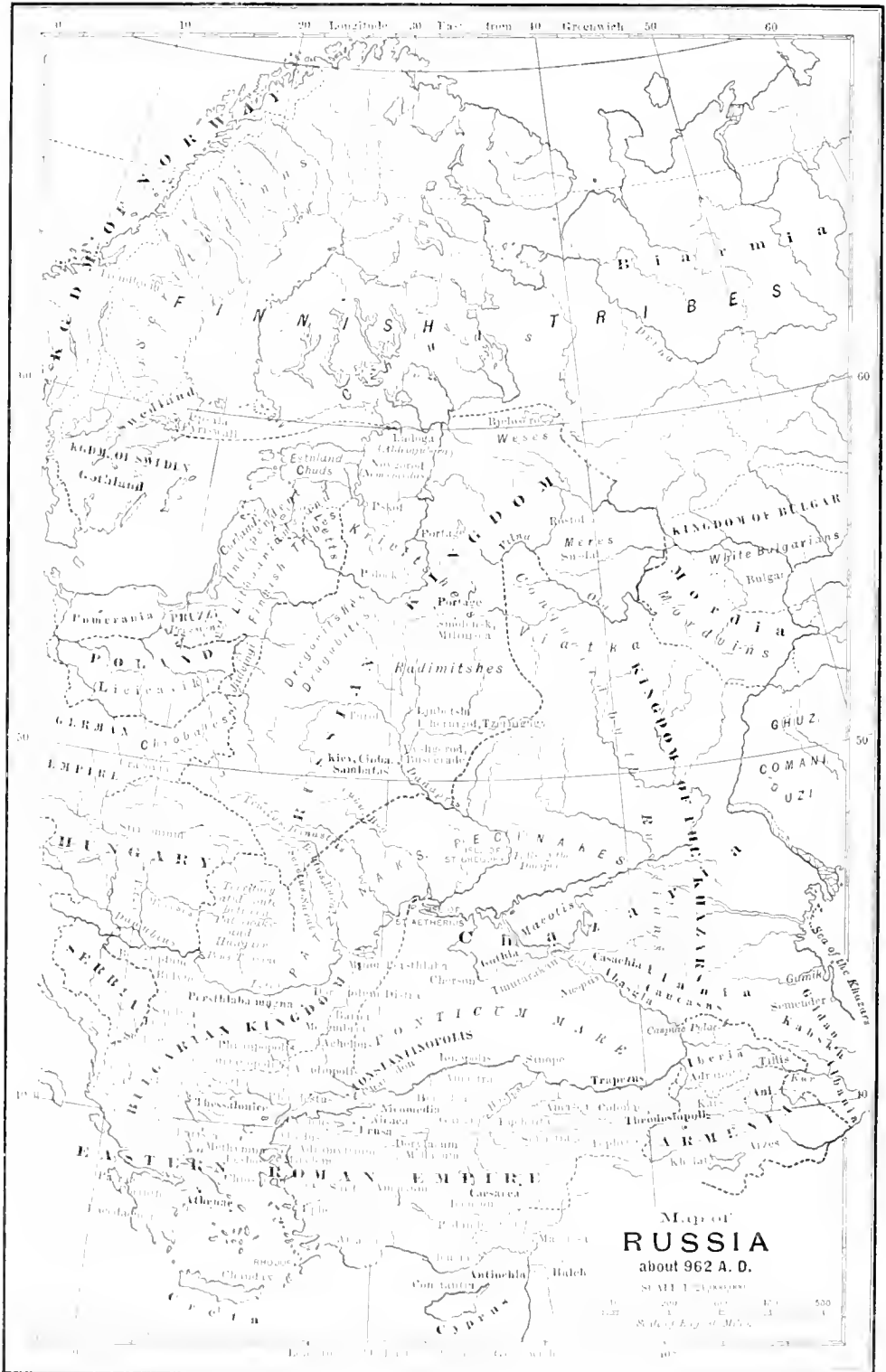




the Thirteenth Century  
(ge.)







Map.—Russia about 962 A. D.

They begged them to restore order, and settle among them. Rurik, with his brothers Sineus and Truvor, accepted the proffer, and got Novgorod into their power. With true Norman adaptability, Rurik and his companions so thoroughly adopted the customs and ways of the people as to become veritable Slavs. They became identical with the ruling race, which was called Russian. Its rule soon spread from Novgorod. The Russians advanced along the Dnieper, and soon forced the Byzantine empire to pay tribute. They also conquered the savage Chazars, who were settled between the Caspian Sea and the Don and Dnieper, and made Kieff the capital of their state, of which Rurik was grand prince. Rurik died in 879, when his brother Oleg, the guardian of his sons, carried out his schemes. When he came of age, Igor, the son of Rurik, brought them to their conclusion. He made the Byzantines still more dependent, and fought successfully against the wild Petchenegs. On Igor's death, in 945, his Norman spouse, Olga, energetically conducted the regency for her son Sviatoslaff. She introduced Christianity without, however, at first meeting with noteworthy success. Under Sviatoslaff (945-972) the kingdom made great progress. (See PLATE XV.: Map of Russia about 962 A.D.) He completely subjugated the Slav tribes, and defeated the Bulgarians so that their rich land fell to him as far as Mt. Haemus. But his invasion of the Eastern Empire was repulsed by John Zimiscees, and he had to buy his retreat with a peace. Soon afterwards Sviatoslaff fell in a war against the Petchenegs.

After a long struggle his son, Vladimir, succeeded in 980, through the murder of his brother Yaropolk, who had slain the third brother, Oleg. He inaugurated a new age for Russia. However deeply he was sunken in the barbarism of his race, he had the high creative spirit of the founder of states. He succeeded in influencing Russian affairs for all time by the introduction of Byzantine culture and Christianity. After subjugating the White Bulgarians on the Volga and Kama (Fig. 166), he conquered the Taurian Chersonesus (Crimea), and sued for the hand of Anna, a sister of the Byzantine emperor, Basil II., and of Theophano. His suit was granted on condition of his going over to Christianity, which would naturally lead to the conversion of his people. He also restored the Crimea to the empire. When Vladimir returned to Kieff with his young queen the idols and heathen signs were destroyed. Greek priests baptized swarms of Russians in the Dnieper. The

same steps were presently taken in the other parts of the kingdom without resistance being raised to the new doctrines. The equality of ecclesiastical culture, which rested upon the identity of the language of the church with that of the country, and closely followed the Byzantine ritual, gradually lessened the existing racial differences, and paved the way for the growing influence of Greek civilization. Consequently the state religion became a greater essential to the national life in Russia than anywhere else. Vladimir the Great (Fig. 167), who had made possible the victory of this civilization by founding schools and cities, was justly con-



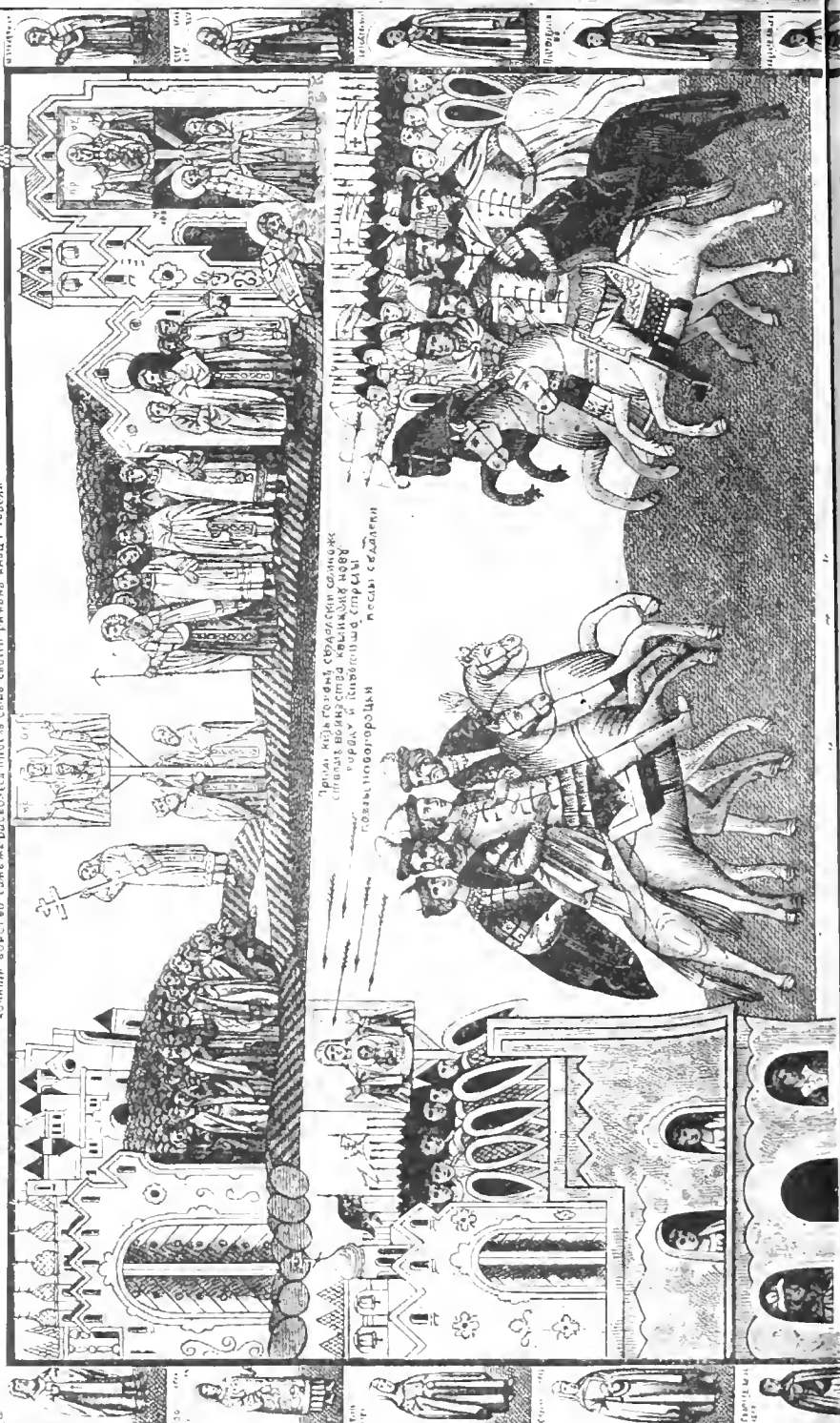
FIG. 166. Ruins of Old Bolgary.

sidered the real founder of the Russian national existence. Even to this day the grave of the sainted Vladimir is the national sanctuary of the Russian people.

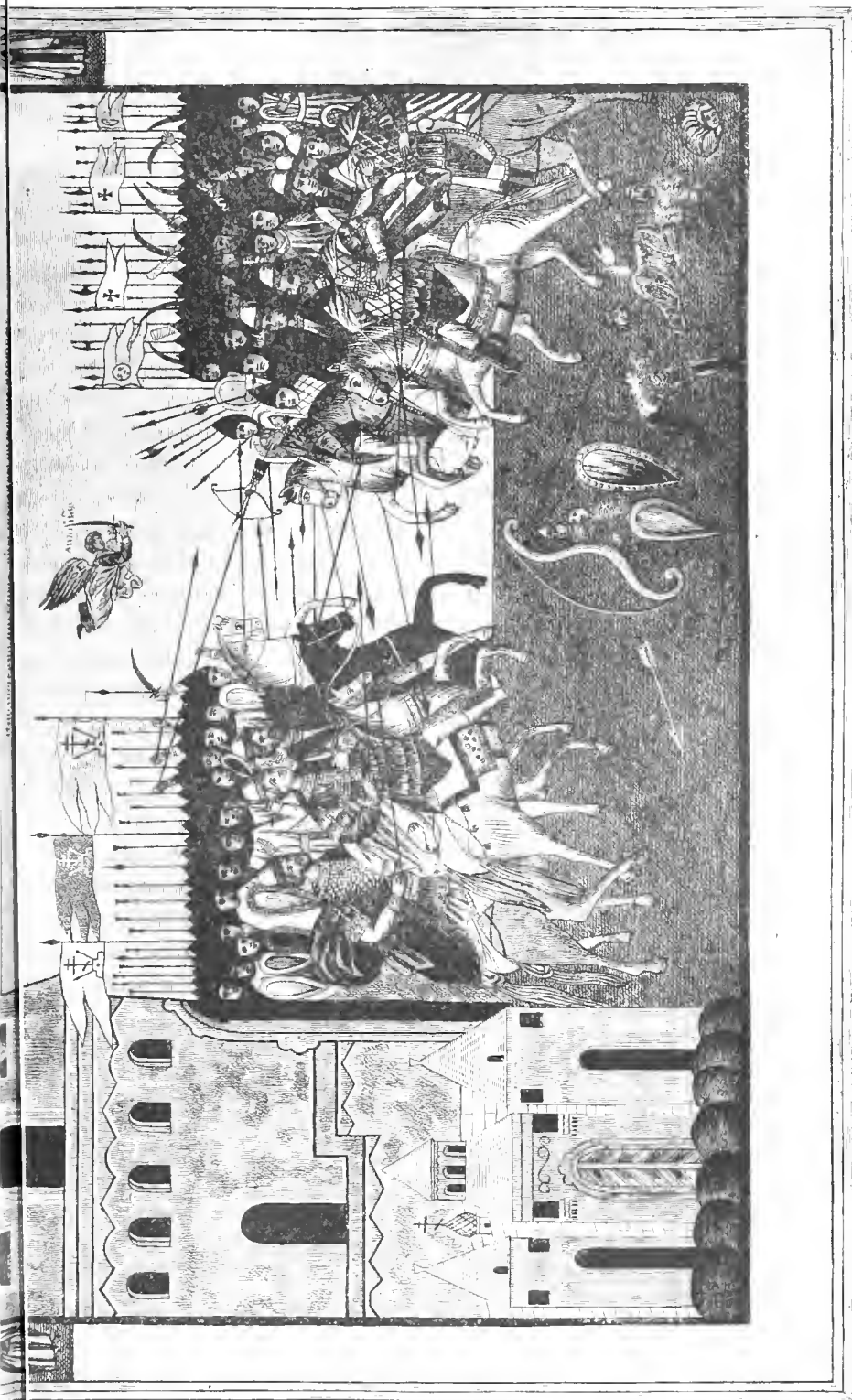
Closely as the national church of Russia followed Byzantine dogmas and forms, it kept, through the use of its own language, an independence, which was not lessened by the fact that its metropolitan in Kieff was under the jurisdiction of the Greek patriarch of Constantinople. On the contrary, this connection was soon disregarded, and the patriarch was unable to take effective counter measures.

The incipient national unity of Russia was immediately threatened when Vladimir's son and successor, Yaroslaff, introduced the



[illegible]





The Miracle of the Holy Virgin in Novgorod, in the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin.

From *Antiquités de l'Empire de Russie*



peculiarly Slavonic seniorate as the principle of succession. For when Yaroslaff (1019-1054), to avoid dynastic quarrels, settled that each of his five sons should rule independently in his principality, while the eldest, as Grand Prince of Kieff, should as head of the family exercise a certain moral authority, the settlement only led to disruption. The inevitable conflict ensued naturally enough, and threatened the continuance of Vladimir's national culture. The wide-spread disintegration exposed Russia to numerous reverses in the middle of the twelfth century. Its Slavonic neighbors freed themselves from dependence upon it, and widened their boundaries at its expense. Meanwhile the city of Novgorod rose to a most



FIG. 167. — Five coins of Vladimir, obverse and reverse. The two middle ones of the upper row are gold coins, the rest silver ones, Byzantine type.

peculiar position. This self-governing community not only elected its own mayor and archbishop, but also chose its own prince. Moreover, it made its own laws, and intrusted the supervision of legislation and administration to an annually appointed official. Under its chosen ruler, Novgorod, in the course of the thirteenth century, conquered the land from the White Sea to the ocean and the Ural Mountains (PLATE XVI.<sup>1</sup>). Its colonies penetrated north-

#### <sup>1</sup> EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIV.

The Miracle of the Holy Virgin in Novgorod in the Church of the Birth of the Virgin. (*Antiquités de l'Empire de Russie.*)

#### TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION.

The picture of the Holy Mother of God in Great Novgorod, which is in Elias Street, wrought a miracle for the citizens there dwelling and their town. For when God had given them a ruler who walked in His ways, the inhabitants of the district on the

western Asia, which enabled its citizens to acquire a part of both the northern and southern branches of the eastern trade. Novgorod became one of the great markets of the world, and won important connections in the west. Its merchants sailed the Baltic, were at home in Gothland, and even occasionally fought Sweden. All this prosperity, however, was to be wrecked by Mongolian invasion, which brought three centuries of barbaric foreign rule on Russia, until, in their final struggle against it, the Russian people first rose to a full national consciousness, and founded a new state.

The Mongolian invasion entirely overwhelmed Russia. The grandson of Jenghiz Khan, Batu, marched, in 1237, from the Caspian Sea northward, defeated Grand Prince George II. on the Sit, in 1238, and destroyed Moscow and Vladimir. A sudden thaw prevented his besieging Novgorod in the next year. On their return in 1239 the frightful hordes turned westward, and plundered Kieff (Figs. 168, 169) and the surrounding country. The remnants of

Dwina, subject to Novgorod, did not wish to give him tribute, but gave it to Prince Andrei of Suzdal. The citizens of Novgorod, however, sent a tax collector to the Dwina and with him 100 men from each of the six wards of the city. The prince of Suzdal sent 9000 warriors against them, and they met at the great sea, and God helped the men of Novgorod, and they defeated those warriors. They fled, and Prince Andrei's men were dispersed. Then he began to gather an army; but he made himself free and sent his son Roman against our city.

Prince Roman of Suzdal came with a great  
force to great Nov-  
gorod and they shot arrows into the city.

Messengers of Novgorod.

Messengers of Suzdal.  
And through the prayers of the Holy Mother of God, the accursed were blinded, and thereupon they began to fight one another.

It is impossible to fix the date of the miniature exactly. In any case it was not before 1169, the year in which the event represented took place. The palaeographical tests point to a later century, possibly the fourteenth. The miracle is related in the *Annals of Pskoff* (*Pskovskaja Ljetopis*, ed. by Pogadin, 1837). The miniature represents the different episodes. The inscriptions supplement what the artist lacked skill to represent.

The miniature is of the greatest archaeological interest for the history of architecture, arms, etc. The princes, military leaders, and ambassadors wear caps. The above-mentioned chronicle states: "In the time of Prince Roman Mstislavovitch (1169) the following towns leagued themselves against Novgorod: Suzdal, Riazan, Torovetz, Smolensk, Perejaslawsk, and other smaller towns. Bishop John of Novgorod prayed for the hard pressed city. He heard a voice from above which bade him carry out the image of the Mother of God from the church of the Saviour in the street, and set it up on the castle over against the enemy. In solemn procession he carried the image forth, and placed it on the outermost rampart of Novgorod. When an arrow, shot by an inhabitant of Suzdal, hit the image, it suddenly turned its back to the enemy, and looked towards Novgorod. Thereat (so the annalist observes) tears fell from the sacred image on the stole of John. Immediately the citizens of Suzdal sought flight, and were defeated and stricken with blindness (according to the *Annals of Novgorod*)."

the Polovtsi sought new homes in Hungary. But even here Batu appeared. He broke the brave resistance of Frederick of Austria, and utterly defeated the Hungarians. Their land was well-nigh depopulated. Its whole civilization from the days of St. Stephen was ruined, and King Béla IV. had to flee to Austria.

The general destruction seemed bound to strike Germany next. One of Batu's armies was already marching towards it. After



FIG. 168. — The golden gate of Kieff after its excavation. Built by Yaroslaff in 1073. Perhaps only its cupola was gilded. The gate began to fall into ruin in 1240. Buried beneath the soil by 1750, and excavated in 1802. Thirty-three to sixty-five feet high, and laid with Greek cement.

plundering Poland (Fig. 171), and destroying Lublin and Cracow, it advanced to Silesia. The citizens of Breslau had burned their homes, and fled to the island in the Oder with their treasures. But the neighboring districts armed themselves, and a crusade was preached against the terrible foe. Messengers hurried over the Alps to advise the emperor Frederick II. of the danger. They met him near Rome. Even now Gregory IX. did not relinquish his deadly enmity, and rejected the emperor's offers which were to free him for

the delivery of Germany: yet that country escaped seemingly inevitable destruction. The heroic Duke Henry the Pious of Silesia gave battle at Liegnitz on April 9, 1241; and though he was defeated, the Mongols did not push their invasion. The energy of the resistance, and the impregnability of the fortresses, and perhaps the fear of only scanty booty, took the zest of the contest from them. In consequence they retreated through Bohemia and Mora-

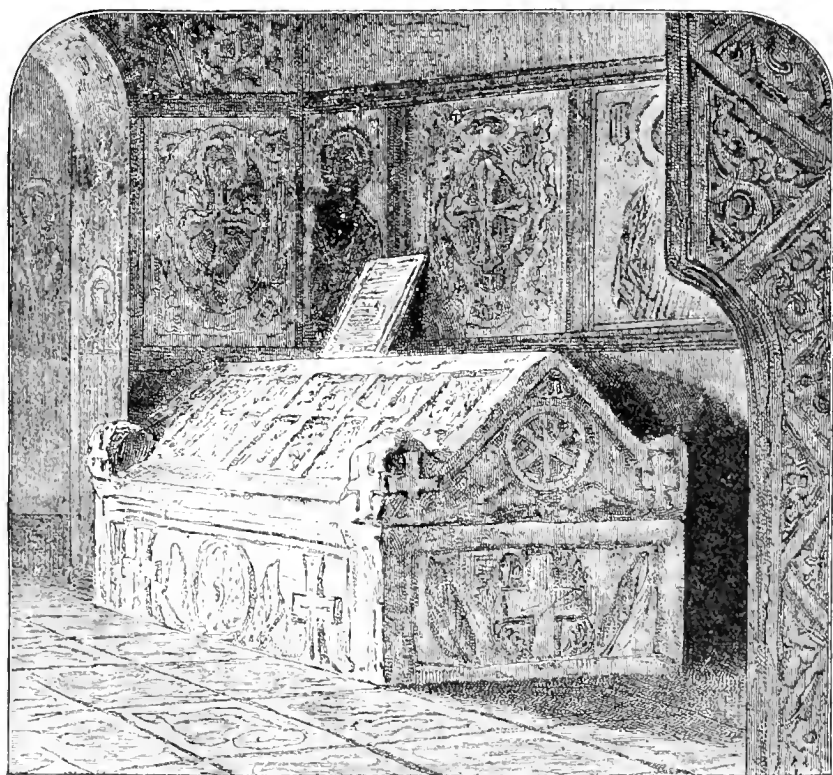


FIG. 169. — Supposed grave of Yaroslaff in the Cathedral of St. Sophia, Kieff.

via, where they met severe losses at Olmütz, and joined Batu's army in Hungary. He, too, gave up the war. For meanwhile his uncle Oktai had died in Karakoram. Thereupon his Christian wife had placed her own son, Kayuk, on the throne instead of the king's eldest one. Batu now settled in his new capital, Serai, in Kiptchak, and ruled thence his vast empire in Europe and Asia. It embraced the greater part of European Russia, together with Siberia. Batu made his will felt also in the original Mongolian kingdom, by

enthroning Mangu as khan in Karakoram after the death of Kayuk.

The result was a new rise of the Mongolian power, which resulted in a new march of conquest toward the east and the west. Under Mangu's brother, Kublai Khan, the Mongols subjugated the southern half of China, hitherto unsubdued. A second army, led by Hulagu, a brother of Kublai, turned to Asia Minor. About the middle of the thirteenth century it almost destroyed the Assassins under their leader, the mysterious 'Old Man of the Mountain'; the remnants of that fanatical sect fled to the hills of Northern Syria. Hulagu then marched against Al-Mutassim, calif of Bagdad. The latter made overtures of peace, and came personally to ask mercy for his capital and realm. Hulagu had him seized, and his magnates killed. Thereupon he took the defenceless city with ease, and turned it into a desert. The other cities of the califate met the same fate; and the degenerate Mohammedans were slain in great numbers. Only a few members of the

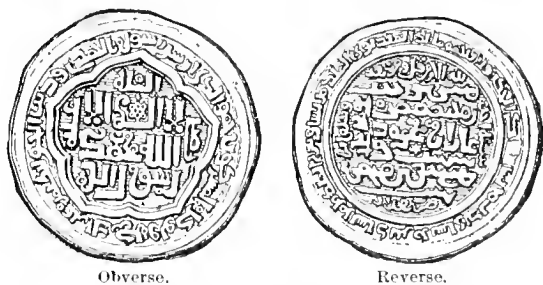


FIG. 170. — Gold coins of the Mongol prince Gasan, 1295–1304. Coined at Bagdad, 1301–1302 A.D. (701 of the Hejira). Inscribed in Arabic and Mongolian.

Abbasside family escaped death, and found refuge with the Mameluke sultans of the Nile region. But Hulagu soon threatened even this district. After having conquered Northern Syria, and ravaged Damascus, the Mongols turned upon Egypt, but found such determined opposition, in 1260, that they gave up the fruitless undertaking. (Cf. Figs. 170, 172.)

It is characteristic of such states as the Mongols had agglomerated, that they collapse as soon as they lack the forcible impetus of their original activity. In times of peace such nations are apt to succumb to the higher culture of their conquered peoples, and to lose the old community of feeling which originally made them invincible. This happened to the Mongols. In China, where Kublai's descendants held the throne, they became thoroughly Chinese. Hulagu's family reigned in Persia, where, together with their fellow-countrymen, they became entirely imbued with the Mohammedan culture by adopting Islam.

Meanwhile another martial race had arisen to inherit the power of the Mongols in Western Asia, and to overthrow the toppling states of Southeastern Europe. Retreating before the Mongols at the time of Temuchin, the nomadic Ottoman Turks, abiding in Khorasan to the east of the Caspian, had turned westward to seek new homes. On hearing of the death of the terrible conqueror, the greater part of the race retired to its old seats. A small band under Ertogh-



FIG. 171. Chalice from the Treasure of the Cathedral of Plock. Present of Conrad I., Duke of Masovia. Perhaps the only example of Polish thirteenth-century goldsmith's work. Legend. † DUX CONRADVS \* EMOMIZL \* MESCO \* LVDMILLA \* SALOMEA \* JVDITA. (Przedziecki et Rastowiecki, Monuments.)

rud took service with Ala-ed-Din, sultan of the Seljuks. Having distinguished itself against the Mongols, it was rewarded by a grant of land in Phrygia. Thus this body became neighbors of the Greeks, and extended its territory at their expense. On this basis Osman, the son of Ertoghruk, founded the Osmanli or Ottoman power. His Seljuk overlord rewarded him with princely estates and the city of Malangena for his victories over the Greeks. Osman made this city his capital. It became the centre of intercourse for the



surrounding country. In incessant wars Osman enlarged his territory and power. Eventually, at the extinction of the sultanate of the Seljuks by the Mongols, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, Osman could be proclaimed independent ruler. The Byzantine empire,<sup>1</sup> though outwardly restored since the return of Michael Palaeologus from Nice to Constantinople, could not withstand his power, which steadily extended to the west, and infested the sea with its pirates. Andronicus II. (1282-1328) was unable to relieve the maltreated inhabitants in the old centres of civilization on the coast of Asia Minor when the Turks attacked them. Unimpeded the storm swept nearer Constantinople. Soon after Osman's death, in 1326, his son Orkhan subjugated the long besieged Brusa at the foot of Mount Olympus. This became the capital of the new Ottoman realm, which, completely conquering the coast lands, was a constant menace to the declining Eastern Empire. The Byzantines could not even hold Nicomedia or Nice. Orkhan (1326-1359) not only filled Brusa and Nicomedia with palaces and mosques, but also had a care that his people should retain their military spirit in spite of the enervating influences of their surroundings. Everything in his state was regulated from the military point of view. Orkhan created the Janizaries, that is, 'the new troops.' This force was a kind of bodyguard, consisting of the strongest youthful converts of the conquered nations, who were prepared for military service by a long and careful training. It was consecrated to the defence of Islam and the Ottoman power. The Janizaries became the kernel of the Turkish army, while its old feudalistic organization gradually fell into abeyance. They were finally dis-

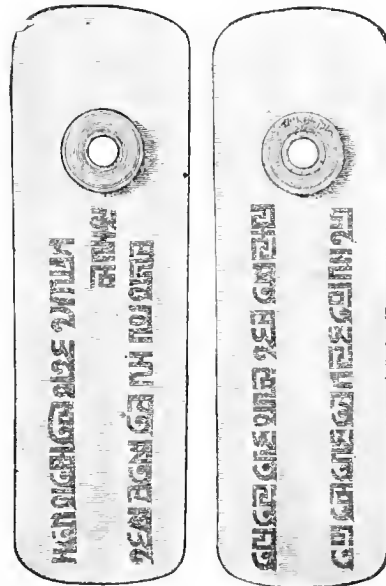


FIG. 172. — Golden tablet of Mongolian princes. The original, found in Eastern Siberia, is four times as long and as broad as the illustration.

<sup>1</sup> For convenience of reference, a list of the rulers of the Byzantine or Eastern Empire, from the partition of the Roman Empire at the death of Theodosius, is here

banded by Sultan Mahmud II. in 1826, after he had broken their strength by a terrible massacre. For many years previous they had been more formidable to the sultans than to foreign foes, because of their turbulence, arrogance, and decayed discipline; but, as Gibbon

given. See pages 349-377 of Vol. VII., pages 170-191 of Vol. VIII., pages 106-111, 276-279, 284-286 of Vol. IX., and pages 122-125, 252, 259-262 of Vol. X.—*Ed.*

*House of Theodosius, 395-457.*

Arcadius . . . . .	395
Theodosius II. . . . .	408
(Pulcheria empress, 415-453.)	
Marcian . . . . .	450
Leo I. the Thracian (or the Great),	457
Leo II. . . . .	474
Zeno the Isaurian . . . . .	474
(Basiliscus anti-emperor, 476-477.)	
Anastasius I. . . . .	491

*House of Justin, 518-578.*

Justin I. . . . .	518
Justinian I. the Great . . . . .	527
Justin II. . . . .	565
Tiberius I. (II.). . . . .	578
Maurice . . . . .	582
Phocas . . . . .	602

*House of Heraclius, 610-711.*

Heraclius . . . . .	610
Constantine III. . . . .	641
Heraclonas . . . . .	641
Constans II. . . . .	641
Constantine IV. Pogonatus . . . .	668
Justinian II. Rhinotmetus . . . .	685
(Leontius, 695-698, Tiberius II. (II.), 698-705, anti-emperors.)	
Philippicus Bardanes . . . . .	711
Anastasius II. . . . .	713
Theodosius III. . . . .	716

*Isaurian Emperors, 717-802.*

Leo III. the Isaurian . . . . .	717
Constantine V. Copronymus . . . .	741
Leo IV. the Chazar . . . . .	755
Constantine VI. . . . .	780
(Irene empress-regent.)	
Irene . . . . .	797
Nicephorus I. . . . .	802
Stauracius . . . . .	811
Michael I. Rhangabe . . . . .	811
Leo V. the Armenian . . . . .	813

*House of Michael the Stammerer, 820-867*

Michael II. the Stammerer . . . .	820
Theophilus . . . . .	829
Michael III. . . . .	842

*Macedonian Emperors, 857-1057*

Basil I. the Macedonian . . . . .	867
Leo VI. the Philosopher . . . . .	886
Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus,	912
(Romanus I. Lecapenus, Christo-	
pher, Stephen, Constantine, co-	
emperors, 920-944.)	
Romanus II. . . . .	959
Nicephorus II. Phocas . . . . .	963
John I. Zimisces . . . . .	969
Basil II. . . . .	976
Constantine VIII. . . . .	1025
Romanus III. Argyrus . . . . .	1028
(Zoë empress, 1028-1050.)	
Michael IV. the Paphlagonian . . .	1034
Michael V. Calaphates . . . . .	1041
Zoë and Theodora, joint empresses,	1042
Constantine IX. . . . .	1042
Theodora . . . . .	1055
Michael VI. Stratioticus . . . . .	1056

*House of the Comneni, 1057-1059,  
1081-1185.*

Isaac I. Comnenus . . . . .	1057
Constantine X. Ducas . . . . .	1059
Romanus IV. Diogenes . . . . .	1068
Michael VII. Parapinaces . . . .	1071
Nicephorus III. Botaniates . . . .	1078
Alexius I. Comnenus . . . . .	1081
John II. Comnenus . . . . .	1118
Mannuel I. Comnenus . . . . .	1143
Alexius II. Comnenus . . . . .	1180
Andronicus I. Comnenus . . . . .	1183

*House of the Angeli, 1185-1204.*

Isaac II. Angelus . . . . .	1185
Alexius III. Angelus . . . . .	1195
Isaac II. (restored) and Alexius	
IV. Angelus, joint emperors . . . .	1203
Alexius V. Ducas Murtzuphlus . . .	1204

remarks, "at the time of their institution, they possessed a decisive superiority in war: since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes of Christendom."

*Latin Emperors of Romania, 1204-1261*

Baldwin I . . . . .	1204
Henry . . . . .	1206
Peter de Courtenay . . . . .	1216
Robert . . . . .	1221
Baldwin II. . . . .	1228

*Greek Emperors of Nice, 1204-1261*

Theodore I. Lascaris . . . . .	1204
John III. Ducas Vatatzes . . . . .	1222
Theodore II. Lascaris . . . . .	1255
John IV. Lascaris . . . . .	1258

(Michael VIII. Palaeologus, regent, 1258; co-emperor, 1258-1261.)

*House of the Palaeologi, 1261-1453.*

Michael VIII. Palaeologus . . . . .	1261
Andronicus II. Palaeologus . . . . .	1282
(Michael IX. Palaeologus co-emperor, 1295-1320.)	
Andronicus III. Palaeologus . . . . .	1328
John V. Palaeologus . . . . .	1341
(John VI. Cantacuzenus, anti-emperor, 1341-1347, co-emperor, 1347-1354; Andronicus IV. Palaeologus anti-emperor, 1376-1379.)	
Mannuel II. Palaeologus . . . . .	1391
(John VII. Palaeologus co-emperor, 1398-1402.)	
John VIII. Palaeologus . . . . .	1425
Constantine XI. Palaeologus . . . . .	1448



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